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WRITINGS

OF

JOHN FOX,

BALE, AND COVERDALE.

Vol. 12

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PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

JOHN FOX,

The Martyrologist.

JOHN FOX, or FOXE, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517, the year wherein Luther began publicly to oppose the errors of popery in Germany. While Fox was very young his father died and his mother married again. He remained under the care of his father-in-law till the age of sixteen, when he was entered of Brazen-Nose college, Oxford, where Dr. Nowell, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, was his chamber-fellow. There Fox studied with much assiduity, and showed his abilities especially in Latin poetry. In 1538 he took the degree of batchelor of arts, and of master in 1543, which year he was chosen fellow of Magdalen college. From early youth Fox had been strongly attached to popish superstitions, but was ever remarkable for a regular and moral life. He strongly opposed the doctrine of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, thinking himself secure enough by the imaginary merits of his own self-denial, penances, almsdeeds, and strict attention to the rites of the church.

But he was not permitted long to remain in this state. He was naturally of an inquiring disposition; by such a character the gross impositions then common in the Romish church could not long be approved. His son states he had often heard his father affirm, that the first matter which occasioned him to search respecting popish doctrine was, perceiving divers things, in their own nature most repugnant to one another, thrust upon men at one time, both to be believed—as that the same man might be superior in matters of faith, and yet his life and manners inferior to all the world beside. This and other inconsistencies, shook the blind obedience of Fox to the church of Rome.

He now began to study ecclesiastical history, both ancient and modern; to consider the reasons for the increase and decline of the church; what causes promoted the first, and what errors occasioned the latter; diligently examining the controversies which had sprung up in successive ages.

Fox was an indefatigable student; when his mind was bent to any subject he pursued it with uncommon ardour and patient perseverance. By the time he was thirty years of age he had

read the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, the disputations of the schoolmen, the acts of the councils and decrees of the consistories. These, but especially a thorough acquaintance with the scriptures in the original tongues, led him to discern the errors of popery and to seek the only way of salvation.

This change appears to have taken place about the time when Fox removed to Magdalen college. His son relates, "By the report of some who were fellow students with him, he used, besides his day's exercises, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not to betake himself to rest till very late. Near the college was a grove where for the pleasantness of the place the students used to walk, and spend some hours in recreation. This place, and the dead time of night, master Fox chose, with the solemnity of darkness and solitude, to confirm his mind, which, as a newly enlisted soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination." To forsake the errors of popery then was no light affair. It involved many dangers; the loss of friends and preferment, nay death itself, might almost be reckoned a certain consequence.

The son proceeds:—"How many nights he watched in these solitary walks, what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself, how many heavy sighs, sobs, and tears, he poured forth with his prayers to almighty God, I had rather be spared, lest it savour of ostentation. But of necessity it was to be remembered, because from thence sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, but the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, interpreted all to the worst sense. At length some were employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry into his words and actions. These wanted not others to aggravate the facts. Why should he not come to church so often as he had been accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself in his accustomed manner?"

Having thus fallen under suspicion of heresy, and his singular openness and sincerity disdaining to attempt any hypocritical concealment, Fox was removed from his fellowship, or found it advisable to resign and leave Oxford. But farther troubles awaited him. The profession of the gospel at that time, usually excited those discordant feelings in families spoken of by our Lord, Matt. x. 34—36. When the rage of bigotry was stirred up it often proceeded to the most unwarrantable lengths. It did so in this case. The father-in-law of Fox, enraged at the change in his views, and knowing that one reputed a heretic then had no remedy against injustice, withheld his patrimony.

The events recorded of the history of the next few years in the life of Fox are not very clearly arranged as to dates, but it appears that being driven from his natural home, he found a refuge in the family of sir Thomas Lucy, a respectable knight of Warwickshire, by whom he was employed as tutor. During his

abode there, he married the daughter of a citizen of Coventry. His departure from this situation was hastened by the inquisitions which the papists began to make into private families. For a time he seems to have found shelter with his wife's father, and also with his mother's husband; but the assistance rendered him was small. His son states that by these means he kept himself concealed, but that he always forbore to speak of this part of his story, not wishing to notice the lack of kindness from his relatives as their conduct deserved.

About the end of the reign of Henry VIII. or the commencement of that of Edward VI. Fox removed to London. The rage of persecution was then abated, but having no regular employment, his scanty means were soon exhausted. His biographer relates a singular incident which befell him at this time.

"As master Fox one day sat in Paul's church,* spent with long fasting, his countenance thin and eyes hollow, after the ghastful manner of dying men; every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before; who sitting by him and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer; adding that he knew not how great were the misfortunes which oppressed him, but suspected it was no light calamity. He should, therefore, accept in good part from his countryman that small gift which courtesy enforced him to offer; he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Fox never could learn to whom he was indebted for this relief, though he earnestly endeavoured to ascertain. Some believed that the bearer was sent by others who were anxious for the welfare of Fox. However that might be, in a few days he was invited to reside with the duchess of Richmond, to become tutor to the grandsons of the duke of Norfolk, then a prisoner in the Tower. With this family Fox lived at Ryegate till after the death of Edward VI. having under his charge Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk, Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, and Jane, countess of Westmoreland; all of whom made considerable progress under his tuition. Herein was a remarkable instance of the interference of divine providence; the old duke of Norfolk was a papist, but the duchess of

* The body of St. Paul's church at that period, and long after, was the daily resort of great numbers of people, especially of those who had business to transact, or were in search of employment. Crowds of idlers of every description were also seen there, and the buzz of conversation, according to the descriptions given by contemporary writers, seems to have exceeded that of the Royal Exchange when fullest at the present day. "He is as well known as the middle walk in Paul's," was a common proverb. A description of London by Lupton in the following century, contains an allusion to "the dinnerless pedestrians" who frequented St. Paul's church, in the hope of finding some one who would invite them to a dinner.

Richmond, the aunt to the late earl of Surrey, was favourably inclined to the truth. During his residence at Ryegate, Fox did not confine his labours to the family wherein he was tutor. On June 24, 1550, he received ordination from bishop Ridley; at that time he was living with the duchess of Suffolk. From a dedication to the translation of his Christ Triumphant, by Richard Day, afterwards himself minister of Ryegate, it also appears that Fox preached the gospel in that neighbourhood, and was instrumental to the removal of popish idolatries. Day, addressing himself to the earl of Northampton, son of one of Fox's pupils, says,

"In the time of his youth, and under the wings of that great lord of Reigate, Thomas duke of Norfolk, he may be truly said to plant the gospel of Jesus Christ there; to that work he was encouraged and maintained, without fee or salary from any other than of your honourable house of Howard. To their great honour be it spoken, he was the first man that ever preached the gospel in that place, even when idolatry was yet in great strength. Exceedingly did his free and voluntary labours fructify among them, for many were there converted from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God; witness thereof, the old superstitious and idolatrous lady of Ouldsworth, an image, or idol saint, who was worshipped at Reigate, in place of God, for her miraculous power of saving health.* Ouldsworth was an honourable name among the old English Saxons: there are of the name in London to this hour; but this old saint lost her name, her place, her power, and friarly false miracles there, through the ministry of this good man."

That any one instrumental to such a work should have been patronised by the ducal family of Norfolk is surprising, but we may remember that the Reformation was then countenanced by authority, and the family appear to have entertained a strong personal regard for Fox.

An undeniable proof of this regard was manifested soon after the accession of queen Mary. The measures in progress for the restoration of popery and the persecution of the protestants, caused Fox to think of following his friends into exile, but the young duke was unwilling that Fox should leave him, thinking his honour was concerned to protect his tutor. Fox knew this proceeded from sincere feelings of regard, and said it was indeed for the duke's honour so to act, but it was his duty to take care that the duke should not be involved in trouble on his account. The matter did not remain long in suspense. One so active against image worship, in the diocese of Gardiner, could not escape the notice of that bigoted papist, who was intimate with the family, and several times requested to see the tutor. His designs were suspected. The old duke died September, 1554, and had been succeeded by his grandson, the pupil of Fox, who being

* See note on the worship of saints, images, and pilgrimage, Lord Cobham, p. 137.

anxious for the safety of his preceptor, made excuses to keep him from the sight of Gardiner. But one day Fox, not knowing Gardiner was at the house, entered the room. On seeing the bishop he quickly withdrew; Gardiner inquired who that was, the duke said it was his physician, who being newly come from the university, was somewhat uncourtly. "I like his countenance and aspect well," said the bishop, "and when occasion shall be, will make use of him." The duke knew what that occasion would be, and concluded it was no longer safe for Fox to remain in England. He sent a servant to Ipswich to hire a bark, while a retreat was provided for Fox, accompanied by his wife, at a farmer's house near the sea-shore, till all was ready. They had scarcely put to sea when a contrary wind arose; after beating about the next night and the following day, in the evening they regained the port they had left. As soon as Fox landed he was informed that a pursuivant from the bishop of Winchester had searched the farmer's house for him, but after following him to the port, and finding the vessel was out of sight, he had departed. Upon this Fox took horse and left the town, but returning in the night he persuaded the pilot again to set sail, and after a rough passage of two days was landed safely at Nieuport in Flanders. "An evident argument," as Samuel Fox observes, "of the certain course of Providence and the uncertainty of all human forecast."

From Nieuport Fox proceeded to Antwerp, and from thence to Basle, where at that time many of the English refugees were kindly received. The city of Basle was celebrated for superiority in the art of printing. Fox, and some of his countrymen found employment in correcting the press, and other literary labours connected therewith.

Here Fox engaged with Oporinus, a celebrated printer, to whom he presented the first sketch of his history of the church. It was written in Latin, and accompanied by a letter to Oporinus, in which he desired to be received into his service, and that Oporinus would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might pursue his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary; and if he would employ him there, or at Strasburg, or at some university, which latter he would prefer, "either," added he, "I will be destitute of all things, or, by the help of Christ, I will cause that all men of literature shall know how much they are indebted to the name and to the press of Oporinus."

While employed as corrector of the press, Fox continued his studies; he especially laboured at his great work on ecclesiastical history, which he compiled at first in Latin. Several publications containing parts of it, were set forth by him, among them were Philpot's examinations. He wrote an earnest address to the nobility of England, beseeching them to desist from the cruelties then practised towards the protestants. He also translated Cranmer's answer to Gardiner on the sacrament. The printing

of this was begun in 1557, but upon consideration it was thought more advisable to stop the progress of the work on account of the bitterness with which the sacramental controversy at that time raged in Germany and Switzerland. In a letter to Peter Martyr, Fox complains much of the difficulty he experienced from the studied obscurity of Gardiner's style. He says, "I never saw any thing more unpleasant, rough, and entangled, than Winchester's discourse; wherein sometimes he is so full of depths that he needs some sibyl rather than an interpreter. In the third book there are one or two places where you may sooner extract water from a pumice-stone than find light from the sentence." An instance of the craft for which Gardiner was so remarkable.

In this work, Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, gave Fox considerable assistance, also in the more important labour of his Martyrology. Grindal then resided principally at Strasburg, and was able to maintain a constant correspondence with England, by which means he obtained many accounts of the examinations and sufferings of the martyrs. These he conveyed to Fox, to arrange and insert in his work. Many letters which passed between them are extant, they show, as Strype observes, "a most tender regard to truth and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands." With one letter Grindal sent Fox two dollars, from the monies remitted out of England to assist for supporting the martyrs. In these works Fox was also assisted and encouraged by Aylmer, tutor to lady Jane Grey, afterwards bishop of London, and by other English divines.

Fox was engaged in more painful transactions while on the continent, namely, the disputes which arose among the exiles, respecting certain matters of ecclesiastical discipline and the use of the English liturgy. The particulars of these differences need not be entered into here, they are to be found in the work entitled the Troubles of Frankfort, and in Strype.

Fox deeply regretted the lengths to which matters proceeded. In a letter to Peter Martyr, written from Frankfort, he says that these disputes had made them unfruitful nearly the whole winter; he attributes much to the youth and inexperience of some who engaged in the controversies. "I have discovered what otherwise I could not have believed, how much bitterness is to be found among those whom continual acquaintance with the sacred volume ought to render gentle, and incline to all kindness. As far as in me lies, I persuade parties to concord." After stating the substance of the advice he had given, he adds, "Our last anchor is cast upon Christ himself, who for his mercy's sake will deign to turn our hearts to those things which make for peace and real tranquillity. His main endeavour was to be a peace maker, and to persuade both parties to concord. In this he appears to have partly prevailed, so far as to induce them to debate the matter more mildly by letter and conference. He

also urged Peter Martyr to settle at Frankfort, as lecturer on divinity to the English, which might induce them to collect there.

Part of a letter written by Fox about this period, to a person and his wife that left England under queen Mary,* is as follows :

" The grace of God in Jesus Christ, which aideth, governeth, and conducteth all such in truth as put their confidence in him, be multiplied upon you and your virtuous yokefellow, that as by the holy institution of the Lord, ye are called to be one flesh, so, by faith you being one in mind, may, in the unity of Christ's spirit, like true yokefellows, bear the cross with patience, and follow our guide and fore-leader, Christ Jesus. Amen.

" When I understood, by your friendly letters sent to my brother, what our good God and most sweet Father hath done for you and other members of his mystical body, in delivering you out of that miserable land, from the danger of idolatry and fearful company of Herodians ; I was compelled, with a glad heart, to render unto his Divine Majesty most humble thanks, beseeching him that as he hath delivered you from their contagious venom and deathly sting with a safe conscience, so he will vouchsafe to protect and preserve it still undefiled. To forsake your country, to despise your commodities at home, to contemn riches, and to set naught by honours which the whole world hath in great veneration, for the love of the sweet gospel of Christ, are not works of the flesh, but the most assured fruits of the Holy Ghost, and undeceivable arguments of your regeneration, or new birth, whereby God certifieth you that ye are justified in him, and sealed to eternal life. And therefore ye have great cause to be thankful ; first that he hath chosen you to life, and, secondly, that he hath given you his Holy Spirit, which hath altered and changed you into a new creature, working in you through the word such a mind, that these things are not painful but pleasant unto you. Again, to be delivered from the bondage of conscience, from the——"

The labours of Fox while in exile were very severe ; his son speaks of him " as having been inured to hardness from his youth, therefore labour, and what to others seemed the greatest misery, to suffer want, to sit up late, and to keep hard diet, gave him no concern." He adds, " This may appear strange to many who remember master Fox to have been all his life long but a slender bodied man, and in his elder years somewhat sickly. But let no man compare his old age, worn out and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of nature ruinous, with the flourishing

* This fragment of a letter is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. It does not show to whom the letter was addressed, but as it was to a person and his wife who are described as setting honours at naught for the sake of religion, it may have been the Hon. Robert Bertie and his wife the duchess of Suffolk, whose escape is narrated by Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

prime of his youth, which by so many of his works appears to have been most healthful."*

The time for the deliverance of England at length came. queen Mary died in November 1558. Of this event Fox had a remarkable preintimation. On the day previous to that of her decease he was preaching to his fellow exiles at Basle, when he told them to be of good comfort; for the time drew near when they should be restored to their own country, and said that he told them this, being warned of God to do so. Some of the elder divines reproved Fox for speaking thus, but the event showed that he was justified. Aylmer was among the persons present on this occasion.

Most of the exiles hastened home, but Fox remained at Basle till the following year; this delay seems to have been partly caused by the difficulty of his removing his family, a wife and two children, in his low circumstances; and having a settled employment he was unwilling to quit it until there appeared a good prospect of matters being settled at home. Also, during a part of the time he was engaged in superintending the early Latin edition of his Acts and Monuments. Grindal and Sampson considered this his best course. The former, when setting out for England on the 19th of December, 1558, wrote to Fox that he had better, for a short time, suspend the further preparation of the great work he had in hand, as many additional materials would now come to light.

Fox rejoiced at the important change. He was the author of an elegant Latin address to queen Elizabeth, printed at Basle by Oporinus, in 1559, where, in the name of the German nation, the queen is congratulated on her accession to the throne; and after speaking of the refuge afforded to the English exiles on the continent, good counsel is given to her majesty and her court, with good advice to the preachers. Another tract, an expression of thanksgiving on the part of the English exiles, was printed about the same time. Fox also wrote and printed a letter to the duke of Norfolk, his former pupil, full of excellent counsel relative to the hopeful prospect of religion, and congratulated him on his own good fortune in the recovery of his title and estates.

We find, however, that Fox had returned to London in October, 1559; and from a Latin letter he then wrote to the duke of Norfolk, printed by Strype, the copy of which is still extant among the Foxian manuscripts in the British Museum, he evidently was in the same distressed state with many of his brethren. From this letter it would appear that it was as yet hardly safe for men of rank to notice the poor exiles. The letter is as follows:

"I have so often written to your highness, that I am ashamed to trouble you with more letters. Yet I so well know the inge-

* The extracts from the life of Fox, by his son Samuel, given in these pages, are slightly condensed, as that work, though containing much valuable matter, is written in the verbose and generalizing style then prevalent, so as to be wearisome to the reader.

nuous kindness of your disposition, that I am persuaded there would be no necessity for my petition, if will only was needful. But perhaps these times present impediments, hindering you from sending to us, and me from venturing to urge my requests to you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, or from any undue feelings of your own importance, that for so long a period you have not sent assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, this I know, my beloved Thomas, that it is most easy for you, possessing such abundance of all things, to impart some small pension to us from your large expenditure. More earnest intreaties would be needful where there was less disposition to confer benefits, but you always appeared more ready to bestow of your own accord, than on account of the prayers of others. And I think that my disposition is well known to you, as so averse to importunate craving, that I would sooner perish with hunger.

" That I have not yet dedicated any work to you, has proceeded rather from fear of endangering you, than from my own will, as, if God permit, you shall hereafter perceive.

" Concerning religion, I need not admonish you where the truth stands; God grant that you may stand manfully with the truth. Have respect thereunto in the first place, and if at this juncture you cannot help Christ, let no mortal ever prevail on you to be an adversary against him in any thing, for at length he will prevail, though all should oppose. You will do wisely if you employ that time in the reading of the scriptures, which others bestow on pomps and pastimes of the court."

The duke's reply, dated 30th October, 1559, also written in Latin, was as follows: " I have received your letters, my excellent preceptor, from whence I learn your affection towards me, and prize it highly. If the return of my servants had not preceded my letters, you should have been with me long since. For I wrote to them that they should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me, and this would have been done had they not returned sooner than I expected. Now, since I shall myself soon be in London, I would that you should await me there, when, as I desire and as I ought, I shall look to you. In the mean time farewell.

" To my right loving schoolmaster, John Fox."

The duke appears to have fulfilled his promises; he took Fox into his house in London, where the martyrologist resided for some time; probably till the duke was involved in troubles from those secret negotiations with Mary queen of Scots, which brought him to the scaffold in 1572. Fox and Nowell attended him at the place of execution, where he confessed that he had acted contrary to his duty and allegiance. The duke had been suspected of an inclination to popery, this he disavowed, and at the solemn hour of his departure he expressly declared, " As touching my religion I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of

my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all, I utterly renounce the pope and his popedom, which I have always done, and will do to my life's end. And as to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant."

There appears every reason to believe that the duke was opposed to popery; even so far as to be inclined to favour the puritans. He cared anxiously for the religious education of his children, as appears from an epistle of Dering and Hansby, two of his chaplains, prefixed to a book of prayers composed for their use, by his command. He was at that time one of the most powerful noblemen in England, and in high favour with queen Elizabeth. These things render his attachment to Mary queen of Scots the more extraordinary, but the influence of many of his near kinsmen, who were bigoted papists, probably assisted this infatuation towards that accomplished but infamous woman.*

Queen Elizabeth was very unwilling that the duke should suffer; she caused him to be respited for several months, but the state of political affairs, and the designs of the papists against her, caused her counsellors to be urgent in pressing his execution. Fox had faithfully warned the duke of the dangers which were likely to result from this correspondence, as appears by a letter from him to his former pupil,† extant in the British Museum. The duke left Fox a small pension.

Richard Day, son of the printer, speaks thus of the shelter afforded to Fox by the duke: "When he returned he found succour from his most bounteous, most charitable, and most princely lord, who gave him free and present entertainment and dwelling for him and his, at his manor-place of Christ's Church, by Aldgate. From that his house, he travelled weekly every Monday, to the printing house of John Day. In that, my father's house, many days and years, and infinite sums of money, were spent to accomplish and consummate his English Monuments, and other many excellent works in English and Latin."

These writings will be noticed on a future page, but the important results to Fox himself, from his intimate connexion with John Day, and the still more important influence on the cause

* The reader will find an account of the duke's correspondence with Mary queen of Scots in many historians. It is necessary, however, to warn him against those who manifest a partiality for that wretched female. Of late it has become too common to cast a veil over the crimes of Mary, and to call her vices by gentle names, but no one can become fully acquainted with the history of the Reformation, without feeling deep regret that her character is not more correctly estimated by historians in general.

† "Dissuading him from marrying Mary queen of Scots."

of truth and the gospel, requires a distinct notice of that extraordinary printer, whose proceedings were exceedingly beneficial in forwarding the English Reformation.

John Day was a native of Suffolk, and commenced business as a printer in London, probably in 1547. About 1549, he removed to Aldersgate, where, as Stow relates, he built much upon the wall of the city towards St. Ann's church. He had also shops for the sale of his books in other parts of the town, particularly at the little conduit, which was in Cheapside, just at the end of Paternoster-row. During the reign of Edward VI. his press was actively employed in printing the scriptures, and many writings of the British reformers. Herein he showed his zeal against popery, even then at considerable hazard to himself.* When queen Mary came to the throne, Day's labours of course were suspended. He appears to have spent this reign partly as a prisoner in Newgate,† partly as an exile, and partly in retirement, employing himself in bringing his art to greater perfection. He was the first printer in the Saxon character, and much improved English typography.‡ His books in particular display a great variety of devices of wood and metal. After the accession of queen Elizabeth, Day resumed his operations with increased activity. The catalogue of books printed by him include the most extensive and valuable publications of that period in general literature and science, as well as history and theology. Many of them were costly and splendid specimens of typography. The unceasing kindness and attention Day received from archbishop Parker, is decisive evidence to his character and abilities.

* In the commencement of this reign, Day printed Luke's poetical dialogue between John Boon and master Person, written against the popish sacrament, and exposing the ignorance and superstition of the priests. The papists made such representations of this book, that the mayor sent for Day, and was about to treat him with severity, when Underhill, one of the king's guard, came to the mayor upon business. The mayor kept Underhill to dinner, when speaking about the book, the latter told him it was a good book, that he had a copy, and there were many others in the court. He gave it the mayor, who being thus better informed of the contents allowed poor Day, then sitting at a side board, to return home instead of committing him to prison as he had intended.

† See Rogers, p. 35.

‡ The importance of the increased attention Day bestowed upon the execution of the works committed to his press, may appear from the words of Bale, in the preface to the second part of his Image of both Churches, printed about 1550, who stating his reasons for discontinuing the marginal references to the scriptures and authors which he had given in his first part, assigns as the first, "the printers, whose heady haste, negligence, and covetousness, usually corrupts all books. These have both displaced them, and also changed their numbers to the derogation of the truth, though they had at their hands two learned correctors who took all pains possible to preserve them." In looking at most of the early printed editions of the writings of the Reformers, the number of typographical errors, often affecting the sense, will be found very considerable, they make reprints literally conformable to those editions far from desirable.

For the valuable history of Hollinshed, the Acts and Monuments, the collected editions of Becon, the writings of Tindal, and many others, we are indebted to this printer, whose enterprising spirit was united with earnest desire to diffuse gospel light and truth. The list of books printed by Day, as given by Ames and Herbert, contains almost all the valuable literature of that age. Day possessed in Fox an invaluable assistant to edit the principal works he published, while Fox had in Day a printer anxious to encourage his exertions to the utmost.

Strype relates that Day found himself the object of envy to his fraternity, who hindered what they could the sale of his books. In 1572 he had a considerable quantity on hand, whereupon his friends procured for him the lease of a small shop to be set up near the west end of St. Paul's cathedral. But, as Strype proceeds, "his brethren the booksellers envied him, and by their interest got the mayor and aldermen to forbid him from setting it up, though they had nothing to do there but by power." Upon this the archbishop interceded with the lord treasurer for the queen's letters, that Day might go forward with his building, whereby, he said, his honour would deserve well of Christ's church, and of the prince and state. The archbishop also urged that the privy council had lately written to him and the other ecclesiastical commissioners, to help Day, perhaps in vending his books, and encouraging the clergy to buy them.

After this, Day seems to have continued his exertions with success till his death in 1584. If much of the progress of the Reformation is to be attributed, as means, to the art of printing, assuredly Day must not be forgotten as one to whom we are deeply indebted for the right application of that invaluable discovery in our own land.*

To return to our immediate subject:

Part of the early period after Fox's return to England seems to have been passed at Norwich, where his son Samuel was born in 1560. The friendship of Parkhurst, then bishop of that see, doubtless occasioned his residence there. It is, however, but too evident, that for some time after his return Fox remained in a very destitute condition. When Humphrey, his fellow collegian, was appointed president of Magdalen college, Fox began a congratulatory letter to him, which, however, he cancelled, probably from unwillingness to describe his own wants, or to

* The homely lines on his monument may be added,

Here lyes the Daye that darkness could not blind,
When popish fogges had overcaste the sunne;
This Daye the cruell nighte did leave behind,
To view, and show what blodi actes were donne;
He set a Fox to wright how martyrs runne
By deeth to lyfe. Fox ventured paynes and health
To give them light; Daye spent in print his wealth.
But God with gayne returned his wealth agayne,
And gave to him, as he gave to the poore.

The reader should here be reminded of Fox's own remarks on the value of the art of printing. See Disciples of Wickliff, p. 231.

address any one in a tone of levity on such a subject. He there called Humphrey to account for leaving "their mendicant order." He says, "Are you not ashamed of being such a fugitive? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition as when I first returned to England from Germany;" about two years before.

From the time of his return to England, Fox requires our attention in various characters. The first and principal is, as the hard student—the author, translator, and editor of numerous works printed by Day; which will be noticed as we proceed. To this he gave himself up in a manner which with most men would have absorbed all their time and attention. After he left the duke of Norfolk's house he resided nearer to his printer, as appears from many letters yet extant, addressed to "Master John Fox, at his house in Grubbe Street," or as "dwelling with master Daye, the printer, at Aldersgate." The extent of his studies is shown by the number of his works, their effects are well described by his son, and should serve as a warning to those who are tempted to overstrain their mental powers by studious application: "In a student, the mind, when it is overstrained, stoppeth not at weariness or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruin of that whereon even the life of men dependeth. For in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his work for a while, or abating some part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former strength, nor overcome the discommodities he shall thereby endure, though with ever so great abundance of other contentments. The truth of this was by M. Foxe's example confirmed, who, when he had for many years, left no time free from thought of his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what nature required, was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither friends nor kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of body in which many afterwards saw him; never again returning to that pleasing and cheerful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours, or to lay aside his study to recreate himself, the signs thereof did likewise remain."*

The studies to which Fox thus earnestly applied, did not, however, prevent him from fulfilling the public duties of the ministry. The regard and esteem felt for him by many persons then in power, would have been exerted to procure him preferment in the church, but he accepted none, saving a prebend at Salisbury, to which he was appointed in 1564, after some endeavours had been made to obtain him one at Norwich with his fellow exile, bishop Parkhurst. He objected to some of the canons and ceremonies retained by the settlement of ecclesiastical

* See p. vii.

affairs under queen Elizabeth, as savouring too much of popery, and this disqualified him from accepting any parochial charge.* We are told that archbishop Parker summoned Fox to subscribe, "hoping that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." Fox, as a reply, took from his pocket the New Testament in Greek, and holding it up said, "To this I will subscribe." He said, that he had nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury, adding, "and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you." But he was permitted to retain it. His fellow sufferers, however different their opinions on those subjects might be, did not desire to deprive such a character of his humble preferment.† Neither was he silenced; we find him continuing to preach, and that on public occasions. This led to his powerful discourse on Christ crucified, preached at Paul's cross in 1570, and afterwards enlarged for the press. It will be found in the present volume. Two Latin letters addressed to bishop Grindal, among the Foxian papers in the British Museum, appear to relate to this discourse.

In the first letter he inquires "who could have instigated Grindal thus to think of crucifying him at Paul's cross?" After urging his own incapacity, and many like excuses, he adds, "Also in fairness consider how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never yet was ass or mule who was so weighed down, and overdone by carrying burdens, as I have long been by literary labours, every day employed investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill health and want of books. Yet amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned in addition, to St. Paul's cross, that celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision or driven away by the hisses of the auditory!"

* It is said that he was rector of Cripplegate for a short time, but resigned it on account of the subscription to the canons, and that he held a prebend at Durham for about a year.

† Archbishop Parker gave Fox a dispensation to eat flesh in Lent, on account of his health. In the commencement of queen Elizabeth's reign, orders were issued to enforce the observance of fish diet at that season, and on every Wednesday through the year. This popish custom was not retained on account of religion, but from an idea of its beneficial effects on the fisheries, which induced secretary Cecil to encourage the plan very warmly. Licences to eat flesh in Lent were frequently given. In 1564 we find them granted to the universities and to Winchester school. In the licence for the latter Cecil expressly states that "the observance of fish days was a politic constitution." It is, however, possible that the government may have been the rather disposed to make this regulation, from a wish to retain the Romanists within the pale of the national church. Several sacrifices were made with this view, and it was successful for a time, till the pope issued bulls forbidding the Romanists to unite in any manner with protestant worship.

The second letter is as follows:

"Yesterday, when too late, I heard that your servant had been with Day, the printer. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have sent a different answer from the present. But although I saw him not, I now see there are friends who by no means will suffer me to refuse, what by all means I had determined to deny. I find that they will not rest till they have thrust me forward, most unwillingly, at Paul's cross. By every means, by intreaties, threats, upbraidings, they urge, press, and solicit me. What is more painful, they pretend that you are displeased with my last letter. In addition, they solemnly adjure me in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ—this indeed, more than all besides, induces me not to refuse. Pray for me again and again. I intreat you, beloved prelate, who have laid this burden upon me, help me to sustain it. And I cannot but express a pleasing surprise that in your letters, where by virtue of your authority this burden is laid upon me, your piety has kindly suggested a subject—that I preach Christ Jesus, and him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, crucified for us, keep your mind in perfect humility amidst the honours of your calling, and with that humility of mind may he also preserve you in your present dignity, for the lasting welfare of his church."

The views of Fox relative to the differences just noticed, may be stated from his "Letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners concerning the present controversies." He says, "the more earnestly I desire the peace and tranquillity of the church, the more am I tortured by these internal differences of opinions and controversies, arisen I know not whence. Yet had they sprung from unavoidable causes they would have troubled me less. But while from light matters occasions are drawn for grievous contentions, and we agitate unnecessary questions, not only is the fruit of brotherly communion lost, but the forces of our enemies are strengthened against us, to whom this our quarrel exhibits a joyful spectacle.

"How much preferable would it be, that, uniting our strength, we should do the work of Christ, and diffuse his faith, as widely as possible, in the minds of the faithful, contending with the sworn enemies of our salvation rather than with the friends of the faith. I know that much remains to be done among us if we seek for a perfect church. But herein we should imitate prudent physicians, whose first care is, that the body live, then that it should flourish as well as possible. But we, by a misplaced anxiety, while we strive so earnestly to bring the church to a most perfect rule of reformation, do indeed, by our contentions, cause that it is scarcely to be perceived, or at best very deformed. For what church can be discerned when we have peace neither with friends nor enemies? What peace with God we can have, things plainly enough declare. Atheism prevails, lust is unpunished, avarice overcomes, benefices are bought and sold, priests are cold—would that they were cold indeed! The pulpits are

silenced. Christ's sheep are fleeced, not fed, his harvest is despised. That it is so may be learned from the labourers themselves, who are either few in number, or for the most part are those who sedulously care for the things which are their own, while scarcely any one thinks seriously respecting Christ." Fox then urges the importance of attending to the more important points of religion, and when these are settled, to build thereon, if it is desirable, those things which pertain to outward reformation, but if this might not be, still not to excite any schism. It had been well for the church, had all parties been as thoroughly imbued with the spirit of peace as Jewell and Fox.*

The situation of Fox with regard to these differences, appears to have been peculiarly unpleasant. While he felt it necessary, even with personal sacrifices, to testify against the requisitions then made as to ecclesiastical affairs, he also objected to many proceedings of those who openly opposed the ceremonies and canons then adopted. His views were not those of either party to their full extent. Fox, though most zealous where he considered essentials to be involved, would not be induced by any personal regard to become a partisan.

The kindness and moderation of Fox's disposition further appears from his letter to the queen in behalf of two Hollanders, who were condemned in 1575, to be burned for doctrines held to be contrary to the christian faith. This was a painful instance that the persecuting spirit of popery was not yet eradicated from the minds of those who had shaken off the papal yoke, and that the right principles of religious toleration were not correctly understood. Fox does not appear to have had clear views on this subject, but like Luther, he could not approve the putting men to death for matters of opinion. He was very unwilling that the fires of Smithfield should be rekindled; he pleaded earnestly with the queen, that the cruel practices introduced by the popes might be laid aside, and that if punishment must be inflicted, it should not affect life.

But his supplications were of no avail; though the queen continually termed him "her father Fox," yet she refused his request. The painful subject need not be here pursued, excepting to lay this cruelty to its right cause—to popery. Strange to say, this proceeding arose mainly from mistaken anxiety to vindicate the protestant churches in the eyes of papists, from the imputation of fostering principles alleged to be heretical! So liable are we to be deceived into the practice of those things which we have seen to be wrong. Political reasons, and the dangers by which the government was then surrounded, also doubtless had their share in this matter, which however can neither be excused nor palliated. But the advocates of popery never can point to this painful event as a blemish in the history of the protestant churches, while history exposes their own conduct.

* See Life of Jewell, p. 19.

In reference to the public life of Fox, it should be mentioned that his intimacy with the highest and most respected characters of the day appears from his correspondence. Among these may be enumerated Cecil lord Burleigh, sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, the duke of Bedford, sir Francis Drake, many of the nobility and gentry. archbishops Grindal and Parker, Aylmer, bishop of London, Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, Pilkington, Lever, and all the leading ecclesiastics of that day. Nor was he less esteemed by sir Thomas Gresham, and the citizens of London. We find him also in correspondence with Bullinger, Martyr, and other foreign Reformers. By the influence of these friends, as already remarked, he might easily have attained to considerable preferment.

We have to notice Fox in another point of view. His son states that he was, "one, for his friendliness useful, by a natural inclination to be useful to others.—By good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons, whereupon no man's house was in those times thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common persons of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause—to seek some salve for a wounded conscience."

Herein the labours of Fox were abundant and exceedingly blessed. Some interesting proofs are yet extant among his papers in the British Museum, where we find a letter to him "from one under temptations to blaspheme, requesting counsel," with other remains, either of letters addressed to him, or rough drafts of his replies to those who, weary and heavy laden, sought advice from him, and whom he pointed to that rest which is in Christ Jesus.

Nor were his efforts wanting in behalf of others—there is the draft of a letter to a noble person, exhorting him to forgive his wife; with others which show how ready he was on all occasions to promote peace and good will. It is indeed interesting to see the grave historian, the undaunted champion of the protestant faith, one who was engaged in severe studies to an extent whereby most would have been overwhelmed, ever prompt to discharge all the private offices of kindness which came before him, yet with the strictest secresy, so as to avoid all unnecessary exposure of private affairs. A few specimens may be given; the first of the following letters is so characteristic of this feature in Fox, and so valuable for the counsel it gives upon a most important subject, that its insertion will not be considered unsuitable to the present work.

To a Gentlewoman, recommending a friend of his.

"As your discreet circumspection is not unprovided of sufficient counsel what you have best to do in your own affairs, to

yourself best known, to me nothing appertaining; so neither do I enterprise so boldly to write to you, as having any need to be advertised by others. Yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as we are so willed by the apostle to exhort one another, I trust you will not be offended, if I shall write unto you by way of persuasion, in the behalf of a certain godly gentleman, and dear friend of mine. The same gentleman, I mean, whom you did see not long ago with me at the Moultons, whose sincere integrity, virtuous life, mild and soft conditions, stayed and settled discretion, his amiable lovingness, loved of all men that know him, with no less singular affection working in his heart, especially toward you, if they were so well known to you as they are to me, and others which have experience of him, I should not need to bestow this labour herein, either in exhorting of you, or commending of him; you would soon understand yourself what ye had to do best for yourself.

"But because the party as yet as unacquainted, is not so well known unto you, to the intent, therefore, by report of others ye should not want some intelligence hereof, I thought thus much to write in his behalf, who neither writeth for himself, neither is privy, I assure you, of my writing for him; testifying to you simply what I do think, and not only what I think myself, but hear also testified by some others, which know you both better than I do, that if the favour of your mind could be no less inclined to him, than the Lord hath wrought in his heart toward you, verily it is supposed a meeter match could not be formed for you, nor wished unto you, all things on both parts considered, both that I know of you, and know by him. Thus much have I signified to you what I thought, and know of him to be true. You, for your part, do what you think good; better in my mind ye cannot do, than to counsel in this matter with the Lord, who, as he hath ordained marriage between man and wife, so giveth husbands as he pleaseth. Neither am I ignorant, but there may be that come to you with greater offers, which indeed might be something for you to hearken to, if your case stood in any such need of worldly goods; but now you having enough, and, blessed be God, abundance, what can you desire more now, than a quiet life with that which God hath sent you? And let the offers be ever so great, ye shall find at length, true godliness, joined with stayed temperance, more fitter for your condition, as it standeth, than greater superfluity of worldly substance. And furthermore, when all your counters shall be cast, ye shall prove it true, and so count with yourself, that an hundred pounds by year, with thrifty and prudent guiding, will go further at the year's end, than five or six hundreds with wasteful spending. I say no more, but as I said, I repeat again, you are wise enough, ye know herein what ye have to do. The Lord almighty, Disposer of all things, direct your ways and counsels to that which best shall be to your quietness and commodity, for Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

"John Fox."

The following is a letter in behalf of a poor man wronged.

"Blessed are the peace makers. Grace in Christ. Master Boyne, Peter Woodgate, and Thomas Petter; if it shall please you concerning the case of this poor man, as I understand it, the matter is plain, his vexation great, his injury intolerable, and such as none of you would ever suffer to be done to yourselves. If the world be so, that evil persons, by fraud and injury, may oppress and circumvent the simple, and no redress in such wrongful sufferings, then the Lord give us patience, and be merciful to this realm. But if it be the part of godly and christian men to help in such wrongs and injuries, and to set peace where disquietness is, and to do for others as they would to be done to themselves; then I pray you aforenamed, joining also Edward Barcock with you, in the zeal of the Lord, to work in this matter what ye can, to talk earnestly with Stephen Beching, and to require him in the name of the Lord Jesus, to defraud this poor man no longer from his right, to the great disquieting of his mind, and undoing of his wife and her children. If he do, let him understand, blessed be the Lord, there are laws in the realm, justice is not all asleep, there is also a court of conscience, and a godly overseer of the same, the lord-keeper, who both by his wisdom will soon find out the matter, and upon his lawful authority will see the wrong to be redressed. And if there were no right at all here to be had in earth, yet let the said Stephen Beching this understand, that the Lord Jesus is alive in heaven, whose hand he cannot escape, nor yet is able to abide if it fall. But best is that your wisdoms gently and quietly compose the matter at home; wherein I beseech you, as a peacemaker, to do in the matter what ye can. The zeal of the Lord Jesus dwell in you. Amen."

The following letter written by Fox to the magistrates of the city of London during a time of pestilence, shows the christian courage with which he continued to assist the needy, when others had forsaken their duties; also the influence which he possessed, and the laudable manner wherein he exercised it; while it illustrates his desire to alleviate the sufferings of the poor.

"Grace and joy in the Holy Ghost, with increase of all felicity, through Christ our only Saviour. To the dispersed company of Londoners, as well aldermen, merchants, and other rich and wealthy members of the same city, with all other well-disposed persons wheresoever, hearty greeting in the Lord.

"If we, the poor servants of Christ, and ministers of his word, within the city of London, now here remaining and sustaining the affliction of this dangerous and infectious time,* shall seem

* In 1563, London suffered much from pestilence. Stow says it was so infected the whole year, that there died 20,136 of the plague only in the city and out-parishes. He adds, "The plague of pestilence

in this our writing to you, something more plain or bold than we should, humbly we crave of your wisdom wisely to construe the cause thereof, imputing it not to any inconsiderate suggestion, or pretended device conceived of our parts; but rather to the serious and earnest necessity of this present calamitous time; thus much signifying to you before, that if the cause were ours only, privately to us belonging, who write to you, we would never so far embolden ourselves. For as we, for our parts, have learned not to shrink away from our charge committed to us of the Lord: for we have learned also to stand content, whatsoever it is we have of him—but now, hearing as we hear, and seeing as we see, the piteous cry of the poor and desolate flock of Christ, some in lanes, some in houses, some in ditches, some harbourless, some clotheless, some meatless, some friendless, all succourless; being their pastors, and the mouth of the flock, we cannot but both tender their pitiful lamentation, and also certify the same to you; desiring you in the Lord, to extend your tender and christian compassion upon them, in helping them in this infectious air, with some good odour of sweet savour from you. So that though your bodily comfort be absent from them, yet your charitable sustentation may be present with them. As members together of one mystical body, so we beseech you, utterly forsake not your fellow members. And though God hath set you in a more safe state of life, yet neglect not them who bear the cross, that God might, or yet may lay upon yourselves.

"It is the point of an honest mind, and a christian heart, that though he be in case that he need not for himself fear, yet to lament and sorrow with them that lie in misery. Wherefore, being thereunto necessarily constrained by the pitiful cry and exclamation of the poor people of Christ, here left in London, we are forced to write to you, speaking for them that cannot help themselves, that you, of your clemency and christian duty, (whereby you are borne not only yourselves, but also to your country and neighbours,) will bestow some comfort upon your fellow members and poor brethren, miserably here oppressed and consumed, as well with penury as with pestilence; of which two, the one is the hand of God only to stop, the other partly under God lieth in your hands to relieve. Extend therefore, we beseech you, your helping hand, and in case you will not or dare not visit them with your presence, yet visit them with your purses, that the Lord, who peradventure doth this to try you, what you will do, may say to you, I was sick, and you visited me, I was hungry, and you, &c. For else, how this flying and departing from your needy neighbours, which neither with your

was so hot in the city of London, that there was no term kept at Michaelmas. To be short, the poor citizens of London were this year plagued with a threefold plague; pestilence, scarcity of money, and dearth of victuals; the misery whereof were too long here to write, no doubt the poor remember it, the rich by flight into the country made shift for themselves."

visitation nor provision you will help, will be allowed before God, we cannot see ; especially such of you as by charge of office are obliged to your companies. For why is not the alderman, being magistrate of his ward, as well bound in conscience to them as the minister to his parish ? Or what mean their robes of scarlet, but to declare themselves ready with their blood to defend the safeguard of their people ? And how are they ready to the shedding of their blood to defend, who with every slight occasion do shrink away, leaving them in danger whom they should succour with their provision ? And what is then to be said, whereas neither with their blood, nor yet with their goods, will minister any supportation ?"—*(Some part appears to be wanting.)*

Nor was Fox unmindful, that when in exile he had received much kindness from the followers of Christ in foreign parts. Accordingly, after his return, he was ever ready to assist those who took refuge in England from persecutions at home. By his request the duke of Norfolk wrote to Peter Martyr, urging him again to shelter himself in England. Other instances might be mentioned, but the following letter written by him to some person in authority, " in behalf of two learned and godly strangers," must suffice.

" Health and grace in Christ. By the occasion of these two learned and godly strangers resorting to your country, I am willed, and also willing myself, to write unto you, that you will extend your favourable protection not only to them, but also to the rest of the same country of Flanders, now miserably afflicted ; who, in so doing, in my mind, shall do a gracious good deed, and a sacrifice very acceptable unto the Lord. Knowing your godly disposition, I shall not need to spend many persuasions to exhort you, only it shall suffice to recite the example of Job, of whom it is thus written, chap. xxix. The poor man crying unto me, I delivered, and the fatherless which had no helper. I helped the man which was ready to perish, and he blessed me, the heart of the widow I comforted. I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame ; I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I understood not, diligently I inquired out," &c.

Fox appears to have entered into cases of deep distress with the same ardent faith and spirit of prayer as Elijah and Elisha of old, when pleading for the bereaved parents who had ministered unto them. He was not, like those prophets, made the means of working miraculous cures, but he was enabled to show that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, and the gracious purposes of the Lord seem to have been revealed unto him in an unusual manner.

We may here refer to the account of his life by his son, who describing the manner in which he sat loose to the world, says, " that he ever showed a deliberate and resolved contempt of all

things which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures; which gave him great ability to perform with commendation whatsoever he took in hand. For that things which were in themselves innocent, grow hurtful when they are overvalued, and pursued with avaricious desire. He never declined the friendship of illustrious personages; not to gain honour to himself, but because his commendation would thereby be more acceptable when used on behalf of others. The money which rich men sometimes offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the poor." After other remarks, the biographer proceeds, "The cause, wherefore he thought all other things so contemptible, especially as it arose not from disdain nor from sluggishness of mind, was only the love of God: wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the world, and devoting himself only to this care. Like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting anything besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires. They who observed him, saw his mind stedfastly fixed upon God, and that he spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of ordinary good men, both in comforting the afflicted, and in terrifying those who were stubborn."

His son then relates two instances, one in reference to lady Anne Heneage, who being sick of a violent fever, when the disease had so far increased that the physicians pronounced it deadly, master Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of in relation to her soul's health. After Fox had performed what he came for, he added, "Well have you done, and according to your duty to prepare yourself for all events, but know this from me, that of this sickness you shall not die." Sir Moyle Finch, her son-in-law, called Fox aside, and said, he could not but wonder that he should thus presume to determine the end of the disease, contrary to the opinion of the physicians, and by so doing he would bring the sick woman, hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying. That he should indeed rejoice if his mother-in-law were likely to live, but if her death were near, it befitted not Fox to dissemble it, who especially ought to provide for the good of her soul, and that he feared his untimely words might destroy men's opinion of his truth and modesty. Fox replied, that he desired not to hinder others from thinking of him as they pleased, but that, concerning the lady, his full belief was, it seemed good to God that she should recover of the disease, and that he said no more than was commanded of him. The lady recovered.

The other was the case of mistress Honiwood, an honourable matron, who had long followed the truth, and who, in the days of queen Mary, used to visit the prisons, and comfort, and

relieve the distressed confessors.* Afterwards she was under most distressing fears and doubts respecting the salvation of her soul: her sorrow was such that she sunk in despair. Her health became affected; she appeared to be in a deep consumption; even on the brink of the grave. In this state she had been for twenty years, and neither physicians nor divines were able to benefit her, either as to her body or her soul. At length she sent for Fox. They who went with him, said that they never entered a more sorrowful or afflicted house. Several friends, relatives, and servants sat by the sick woman, some on seats, some on the chamber floor, not weeping as in a common case of sorrow, but absolutely silent, as though their tears were all spent, scarcely noticing any that entered. The sick woman lay upon her bed, apparently near her end, faintly breathing forth a few words, which were in effect a desire to end her days. Fox did not attempt the ordinary methods of consolation, but prayed earnestly, pleading the faithfulness of God's promises, and Christ's sufferings. This course he pursued for some days, though with but little effect. At length he told her, that she should not only recover from that disease, but also live to a great age, and what was far better, that she had an interest in Christ, and should go to heaven. She, moved at his words, and earnestly beholding him, exclaimed that she should surely be damned, adding, "As well might you say, that if I should throw this glass against the wall, I might expect that it should not be broken in pieces." And immediately dashed down a Venice glass† she had in her hand. It struck a chest, from whence it fell to the ground, without receiving the smallest injury! The event proved according to the words of Fox. Mrs. Honiwood, who was then sixty years of age, recovered and lived till she was ninety, in peace and comfort, being able to reckon up three hundred and sixty-seven descendants.

Samuel Fox refers to a person alive when he wrote this in 1641, who had been present at the above conversation, and says he could relate other similar accounts, but declined doing so, as those who could have witnessed their truth were dead.

In reference to these and some similar circumstances, he observes that he does not presume to attempt any explanation, "whether it was that the mind, by how much the purer, and more sublime it is, seeth so much the farther; or whether there is some hidden cause, why God may be pleased sometimes to declare his purposes by men, not speaking out of their own knowledge but as they are moved."

A few anecdotes of Fox may be given, illustrative of his

* She was present at the burning of John Bradford, and related that the crowd was so great, that her shoes were trodden from her feet; she was obliged to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could buy another pair.

† A slight sort of drinking glass made at Venice.

character. One day he met a woman he knew, who showing him a book she carried, said, "See you not that I am going to a sermon!" He answered, "If you will be ruled by me, go home, for you will do little good to-day at church." Whereupon she asked, when he would counsel her to go? "Then," replied he, "when you tell no one beforehand."

A gentleman, dining with Fox, spoke very freely against the earl of Leicester, whose conduct was much canvassed. Fox commanded a certain cup to be filled with wine, and brought to him. "This cup," said he, "was given me by the earl of Leicester." The gentleman immediately ceased. This is characteristic of Fox's quiet, but effectual method of repressing what was wrong, without exciting needless debate.

A young man, inclined to be too forward in company, said, that while studying the old authors, he saw no reason why men should so greatly admire them. Fox observed, "No marvel indeed, for if you could conceive the reason, you would admire them yourself."

One having inquired whether he recollected a certain poor man whom he used to relieve. "Yes," answered Fox, "I remember him well. And I willingly forget lords and ladies, to remember such as he."

At another time, when leaving the palace of Aylmer, bishop of London, a company of poor people begged of him importunately. Fox, having no money, returned to the bishop, and asked the loan of five pounds, which was readily granted; then going forth, he distributed it among that retinue, by which, as Fuller observes, he ever might be traced. Some months after, Aylmer asked Fox for the money he had borrowed. "I have laid it out for you," was the answer, "and paid it where you owed it, to the poor people who laid at your gate." Far from being offended, Aylmer thanked Fox for thus being his steward.

His course of life during his later years is thus described by his son. "Spending the day at home in conference with those who resorted to him, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able themselves to come to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry imposed on him. The little time which was left free to his own disposal, he bestowed not in sleeping or taking pleasure, but in prayer or study; in both which he always retired to some private place, or made use of the silence of night for secresy, unless sometimes the vehement groans, mingled with his prayers, being heard by some near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended, but often hath the next morning's light seen the last of his night's care dispatched."

Yet Fox was no ascetic; his voluntary abstinence from the ensnaring pleasures of life has been mentioned, but as he knew that this victory was not obtained in his own strength, so he

desired that the fruits thereof might appear to the glory of his master. We learn, "that he frequented the tables of his friends, not for his pleasure sake, being of a spare diet, but both in courtesy to keep them company, and lest any should think that he was not defended against the pleasures of the table by his own moderation. So did he behave himself in those things that are followed by delights, that none of those who were commonly in his company, can remember any speech or action of his that showed desire of them." Although his presence might tend to prevent improper excesses, we have no reason to suppose him averse to proper and christian cheerfulness. Many passages in his writings show that he was naturally of a cheerful turn of mind, and pleased with lively sayings, although far from unchristian levity. He desired by experience in christian warfare to increase his own strength, and to give to others an example of fortitude.

The correspondence of Fox in the latter part of his life, shows that his circumstances remained very limited. In a letter written to his son Samuel, he says that the letters which his son had addressed to a bishop, had been sent, but without effect, adding, "The twenty shillings you received by Gellebrand were from your mother, not from the bishop. This she is willing that you should know, lest you should rely upon human help, which is of small avail. It is best to seek for aid from Him who feedeth the young sparrows, and imparts food unto all flesh. Call upon him in truth, and fix all your hopes upon him."

The occasion of this letter seems to have been as follows. His son, Samuel, who was fellow of Magdalen college, had travelled beyond seas without permission from his father or the college. On his return, he was charged with an inclination to popery, which, though without foundation, induced the members of his college, then inclining to strict discipline, to expel him.

Fox addressed a bishop in behalf of his son, whom he did not defend as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause being assigned, and the harshness of this proceeding, rather arose from internal dissentions in the college, and opposition to their president, than to freedom from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner; he speaks in moving terms of his own age and poverty. We find that Samuel Fox was afterwards restored to his office by the queen's mandate.*

We may here again notice, that Fox always from his deep poverty was abundant in liberality to the poor. His son says, "So far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good; that he would at no time suffer the care of

* It is related of Samuel Fox, that on his return from the continent, he presented himself to his father in a foreign and somewhat fantastical garb. "Who are you?' said Fox. "Sir, I am your son Samuel." The reply was, "O my son, what enemy of thine hath taught thee so much vanity!"

his private estate to enter into his mind, much less that it should, by taking thought for his household affairs, be overcome or drawn aside.—Being often asked why he had no more regard to the straitness of his own estate, it being the first precept of charity to begin at home; his answer was, That God, by his covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since God had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude?" His son testifies that he showed pity to all sorts of men in distress, though he does not confirm what was reported, that Fox often gave away his clothes and household stuff. He considered that it was not likely his father should proceed so far; as by the liberality of others, who made him their almoner, he wanted not means to relieve those in necessity. The sums thus intrusted to him appear to have been considerable, and were applied most faithfully to the purposes intended. It was well that he had this assistance, for his love to his Saviour was such, that he never could refuse giving to any who asked him for relief in the name of Jesus, or for Christ's sake.

One of the latest circumstances recorded of Fox is, that he declared his conviction, as being taught of God, that the Spanish Armada would be unsuccessful. The mind of the martyrologist must have been deeply anxious respecting the event of an expedition, which, if it had succeeded, would have renewed the scenes exhibited during the reign of queen Mary, in a more dreadful degree.

The particulars of his departure, which took place April 18th, 1587, are thus recorded by his son Samuel, "Ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known disease, but through much age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure; nor would suffer his sons, notwithstanding he entirely loved them, to be present at his death, but forbad the one to be sent for, and despatched the other on a journey three days before he died. Only sending for them when he well knew that whatever haste they made, they would be too late. Perhaps he thought them unable to bear so heavy a spectacle, or would not have his own mind troubled at that time with any thing that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my brother was most grievous, that thereby we could neither come to close his eyes, nor to receive his last blessing and exhortations, nor to satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. We could with more patience have endured to see the approaches of his death drawing on, than have lost so good an example how to die.

"Upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral that was made for him, with the concourse of as great a multitude of people, and in the same fashion of mourning, as if each had buried his own father or brother."

His two sons above mentioned, Samuel and Simeon, lived to advanced age, were men of learning, and much esteemed in their day.

His son Samuel observes, "All his virtues were fenced about as with a bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life,

which suffered not any thing to enter into his manners, or to break forth into his actions, without first diligently examining whether it might beseem him or not. Having this always before him, if at any time, by human frailty, aught within began to be shaken, he quickly forsook it, before the matter proceeded." He says, " I write of a life bearing continually true and solid fruits;—a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continual charity, contempt of the world, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others."

The chief debt of gratitude to Fox, both from his contemporaries and from posterity, was for his writings—among these, " The Acts and Monuments of the Church" is the most important, both as to the extent of labour bestowed on the work, and the unspeakable usefulness which has resulted from it. This work, as already noticed, Fox commenced when at Basle; the first sketch was printed in octavo, in 1554. An enlarged compilation in Latin, in a folio volume, was printed also at Basle in 1559 and in 1563. This contained but a small part of his full design, which was to show the whole history of the church of Christ, especially the rise and progress of the English reformation, as well as to record therein the persecutions and sufferings of the English church in his own day. Many supplied him with materials, and on his return home he devoted himself principally to this great work, continuing to prepare it in English, by the advice of bishop Grindall, who took much interest in promoting it. The facts which Fox chiefly wished to note were recent, the examinations and letters of the martyrs were furnished to him from authentic sources; and the bishops' records, which contained many documents of the greatest importance, were open to him. All these he examined personally, transcribing them himself. In 1563, eleven years from the commencement of his labours, he had proceeded with his work sufficiently to publish it under the title of " Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the romish prelates, especially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord one thousand unto the time now present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies and writings certificatory, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof." Strype, in simple yet strong terms, sets forth its value. He says, " Herein Fox hath done exquisite service to the protestant cause, in showing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions made by learned and good men, in all ages, and in all countries, against them; and especially under king Henry and queen Mary, here in England; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women,

those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions." Strype bears testimony to the "infinite pains" Fox took in compiling this work, and in searching of registers, and in the enlargement of the several editions in his life-time. So full and perfect an exposure of the persecutions of popery never was made, as of those in the reign of queen Mary. The church of Rome has usually been able to conceal its deeds of darkness in some degree, or for some time. But in this instance, the broad light of day broke in at once upon the recesses of its dungeons, and the archives of its tribunals. Strype says, "Great was the expectation of the book in England before it came abroad. The papists then scurrilously styled it, 'Fox's Golden Legend.' When it first appeared, there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, and even to Louvain. The papists charged it with lies, and said, there was much falsehood in it; but indeed they said this, because they were afraid it should betray their cruelty and their lies." This ever has been the practice of that corrupt church, and the unblushing effrontery with which its advocates impute the charge of falsehood, has too often been successful with those who are ignorant of the depths of iniquity it has manifested.

Parsons, a romanist, who wrote shortly after, plainly charged Fox with spoiling the bishops' registers and ancient records, declaring that he would have undertaken to find abundant matter to confute Fox out of the records of the bishopries, but which, he added, were now destroyed by him, "as we do presume." Here was a papist measuring others by the conduct usual in his own church, which ever has been remarkable for altering, forging, and destroying of documents!* But truth has not recourse to any such measures. Strype adds, "Fox was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them, many whereof I have seen and do possess. And it was his interest that they should remain to be seen by posterity, therefore we frequently find references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers and council books, and have always found him faithful." "As he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. And this I myself in part have found."

But a considerable portion of Fox's work necessarily rested upon the relation of living witnesses. These he has generally mentioned by name, and a great part are men whose character is so well established, as to place them above any imputations. Many of course were persons of inferior rank, but surely we

* It was justly alleged against Polydore Vergil, who compiled a romish history of England in the reign of Henry VII. that he had destroyed many ancient records and documents, that he might conceal the interpolations and omissions which he had made.

are not to consider that as any ground for a charge of want of veracity. Some errors and mistakes there doubtless were, but far less than could be expected in a work of such magnitude. These Fox took every pains to correct, travelling to considerable distances to ascertain the real facts where doubts were alleged, and without hesitation inserting in his subsequent editions any corrections which appeared needful. As most of the persons alluded to were living when his work appeared, unusual advantages were afforded in this respect, and several letters still extant in the British Museum, prove his own anxiety, and that of his friends, to correct any errors.

To pursue this subject at length cannot be necessary. Strype has given particulars, which show how unfounded several of the charges of the papists were, and when the reader examines those upon which romish writers, as well ancient as modern, have laid the most stress, he will be surprised to find they are only matters of small importance, and still more at the unblushing effrontery with which oft refuted charges are still repeated.* We may here dismiss the subject with a quotation from Dr. Wordsworth, who himself examined many of the ancient records used by Fox. He says in the preface to his ecclesiastical biography, "These writings (of the papists) have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Fox's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by such censures than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative, on a rock which cannot be shaken."

The testimony of Neal, from his History of the Puritans, may also be given. He says, "No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this. It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in churches; where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood." Brook observes in his Lives of the Puritans, that the weight of all the objections offered in contempt of the Foxian martyrs, are as nothing to overthrow so solid and immoveable a fabric. "The Acts and Monuments of the martyrs have long been, they still remain, and will always continue substantial pillars of the protestant church; of more force than many

* Two may be noticed, which are found in the writings of two of the most distinguished modern romanists of England. One repeats the allegation, that the woman whose new born infant was burned at Guernsey was unmarried, although Fox in his later editions mentioned the name of the minister by whom she had been married, who was then living in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, and refers the reader to him. The other, noticing the case of Hunne, who was strangled in prison by the officers of the popish prelate of London, calls it "the legend of Hunne," though Fox's narrative is from legal documents; proceedings in the courts of law, and parliamentary records.

volumes of bare arguments, to withstand the tide of popery, and like a Pharos, should be lighted up in every age, as a warning to all posterity." No history ever has been so strictly and severely tried as the Acts and Monuments of John Fox, and no work of human composition ever stood the test of severe scrutiny with equal credit and advantage. Every pains was taken to make it public, a copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church throughout England, with Jewell's Defence of the Apology, and the large English Bible, for the use of all people, excepting in times of divine service, till Laud ordered the writings of these reformers to be taken away, as they did not countenance some of his views! But even now the well worn remains of these volumes are sometimes to be found in a village church, an undeniable proof that the history of those times was subjected in the fullest manner, to the examination of the very people among whom the circumstances related had occurred only a few years before.*

This work was reprinted in 1570, with several corrections and numerous additions, also commencing from "the primitive time." Other additions and corrections were made in subsequent editions printed in 1576 and 1583, during the life-time of Fox, and subsequent to his decease in 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684. No complete edition has been printed since that period, though often called for, but innumerable compilations from its pages have appeared.†

The other writings of Fox, not already mentioned, may be more briefly enumerated. The principal are those which relate to the controversies with Osorio, a romish prelate of considerable ability, who wrote against the English Reformation, and in defence of the romish doctrines of justification. A work written by him, soon after the accession of queen Elizabeth, had been ably answered by Dr. Haddon, master of requests to the queen, and at her desire. Osorio replied at great length, with many personal invectives upon the English protestants, urging the usual objections against the doctrines of the Reformation. Haddon commenced a further answer, but died before it was finished. As this controversy was considered a matter of importance to the state, Fox was selected to continue Haddon's work, which he did in a very satisfactory manner. Strype gives a very full account of this controversy; he characterises the work of Haddon and Fox, as "a very learned vindication of protestants, and a confutation of the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome."

* By the canons of the convocation held A. D. 1571, it was enjoined that every prelate should place the Bible, Fox's Acts and Monuments, and other religious works in their halls or principal eating rooms for the use of their guests and domestics. Deans were enjoined to see these books placed in the cathedrals in convenient situations, so that they might be heard and read, which implies that they were customarily read aloud. All dignitaries were to have a copy in their families; one was to be placed in every college and hall in the universities.

† The value of the early editions is increased by the circumstance that many of the wood engravings contained portraits of the principal characters of that day. Bonner saw and admitted his own likeness!

Fox also engaged in a still more important controversy with Osorio, who wrote a Latin treatise concerning justification; to this Fox replied in a work printed in 1583, entitled "Concerning Free Justification through Christ." He wrote this and most of his other works in Latin, as that was a universal language among all persons of any pretensions to education. We accordingly find him apologizing to Dr. Humphrey, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, when he sent him a copy of the first edition of his Acts and Monuments, that it "was not written in Latin," which, he said, grieved him, as the fruits of it then might spread further, and it might be more pleasant to read. An English translation of Fox on Justification was afterwards published, the greater part of which will be found in the present volume; an abridgement appeared desirable both on account of the limits of this work, and as it was unnecessary to follow Fox through all the logical forms then used in such arguments, or to traverse the mazes of the controversy. The reader will find this one of the most important writings of the British reformers; the great doctrine of justification by faith is treated without the introduction of those less important topics, by which romanists usually endeavour to confuse and obscure their controversies with protestants. It was in truth a strenuous contest. Osorio put forth all the sophistries and perversions of his party. Fox grappled manfully with them and overcame. We may consider Fox as standing unrivalled among the British reformers on this subject, as well as in matters of history. This piece is the more important, as its arguments are particularly opposed to the doctrine of the jesuits, which then had been recently advanced, and were beginning to exercise a mischievous influence. It also deserves serious perusal at the present day, for it answers many of the erroneous opinions on that all important subject, which have been introduced into protestant churches during the two last centuries.

Another work of Fox included in the present volume, is a sermon preached by him on the occasion of the baptism of a Jew. The subject is, the gospel olive tree, spoken of by St. Paul, Rom. xi. It notices the principal prophecies relative to the Messiah, a statement of the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, and strong arguments against Jewish errors. It is the only piece relative to the Jews among the British reformers.

Fox also wrote a work upon the Eucharist—Concerning the doctrine of election—An exhortation to be read in the time of pestilence—A new year's gift concerning the deliverance of certain Christians from the Turkish gallies—Concerning the receiving into the church those who have fallen, but have returned by repentance—and Meditations upon the Apocalypse.

He edited several works. Among them were the writings of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes. He translated some pieces of the German reformers, and set forth a collection of christian prayers from ancient writers. We also find many prefaces and epistles from his pen. Day, as we have seen, was rightly called the printer of the Reformation, Fox was his editor, ready at all

times to direct the talents, and to apply the time he possessed, to such objects as seemed consonant to the work of his Lord and Master. Among other works he was employed by archbishop Parker to edit the Saxon gospels. His researches into Saxon antiquities enabled him to combat many of the romish usurpations.

Strype obtained many of the papers of Fox, and has made considerable use of them in his Memorials and Annals.* A considerable quantity passed into the Harleian collection, and are now in the British Museum. An inspection will do much to satisfy of the industry and fidelity of the martyrologist. Amongst them is an interesting selection from the correspondence of Fox, apparently copied under his own direction from such letters as he thought most important to preserve. Strype has published several, some others are inserted in this biographical sketch, but the whole collection should be printed.†

To conclude—Fox was a most valuable artificer in the great work of the English Reformation. He may be considered as the last of the venerable body of British reformers, and also as connecting them with their immediate successors, the puritans and other valuable divines of the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries. He was not only a principal stone in the edifice, but also the cement whereby the other stones have become firmly united together; it is impossible to have examined the various documents requisite for the present work, without being impressed with enlarged views of the excellences of his character, and deeply feeling

THE INESTIMABLE VALUE OF JOHN FOX.

* The writings of Strype have furnished so much assistance to the present edition of THE BRITISH REFORMERS, that a brief notice of this most valuable contributor to English ecclesiastical biography should be given. John Strype was born at Stepney, in 1643. He was educated at St. Paul's school, studied at Cambridge, and was minister of Low Leyton, in Essex, which living he held for sixty-six years. Having access to some valuable papers of lord Burleigh's, he began his collections, and proceeded to a very considerable extent, being assisted by Wake, Burnet, and others of similar taste for antiquities, and of sufficient influence to render their aid valuable. His works relative to the Reformation have been lately reprinted at the Clarendon press; and extend to nearly thirty octavo volumes. His fidelity and industry are undoubted, and impart much value to his writings. Strype died in 1737, aged ninety-four. Part of the materials he used are now in the British Museum.

† The neglect of the writings of John Fox is as discreditable to the English nation, as the disregard shown to the writings of Wickliff. A complete collection of the works of each of these reformers should be set forth as a national undertaking; and it is painful to reflect, that the sums lavished upon only a few of the groups of heathen deities which deform rather than adorn, our national cemeteries, would have amply sufficed to defray the expense, while the cost would have been expended among our native artisans.

At Mark's Hall, near Coggeshall, an ancient seat of the Honiwood family, the glass thrown down by Mrs. Honiwood (see p. xxiii.) is still preserved, and a place pointed out as the spot where it fell.

A

SERMON OF CHRIST CRUCIFIED,

PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS, THE FRIDAY BEFORE EASTER, COMMONLY CALLED GOOD FRIDAY.

A. D. 1570.

WRITTEN AND DEDICATED TO ALL SUCH AS LABOUR AND ARE HEAVY LADEN IN CONSCIENCE, TO BE READ FOR THEIR SPIRITUAL COMFORT.

BY

JOHN FOX.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To all them that labour and are heavy laden in conscience, John Fox wisheth hearty comfort, perpetual peace, and eternal life in Christ Jesus, our only Saviour.

To preach Christ Jesus crucified, and the excellent mystery of his passion, as it is no small matter, so it requireth no slender person to take the same in hand, but such as both in other respects were sufficiently furnished, and especially in spiritual matters perfectly exercised. Briefly, whomsoever it required, certes* me it required not, nor such as I am, being, as they say, of most of my brethren most unfit and furthest off. Notwithstanding, forsomuch as it was so allotted to me, and I thereto called by authority, and means of certain,† because I could not well refuse, I thought to show my good will and did what I could. After I had done, then was I further urged by divers and sundry, and by some adjured also, to commit the same to writing that I had preached. To deny the persons I might not; to reject their request I could not; to grant it was hard; to perform it was tedious, especially having nothing written before of all my sermon, whereby either to ease my labour, or to direct my pen. Again, with penning and writing I was full weary of late before, and fain would have had rest if I might, but that would not be; so vehement were they in urging, so violent in persuading, as they would have no nay.

Beside the importunity of these, I considered partly the necessity of the cause. And furthermore, what if God's providence had also a secret stroke herein to have his Son illustrated amongst us? For as Christ Jesus, in this earth, sought nothing but the glory only of his Father, so his Father now seeketh nothing else in heaven but the glory of his Son. And as the same Son, being here on earth, so humbly did debase himself, dejected as a servant under all men, to obey his Father's will, so hath it pleased his Father again to exalt him; not only to surmount the glory of all princes and potentates whatsoever, but also with such power and majesty hath advanced him, that even the very knowledge and belief of his name giveth everlasting life to all

* Certainly.

† On account of the persuasion of certain persons.

sinners, be they ever so grievously burdened or laden, whosoever will come to him.

Wherefore, seeing now all the felicity and comfort of man's life consisteth only in the knowledge of Christ Jesus and glorifying of his name, and in nothing else; what thing then can be more needful to the health and salvation of all men, than to preach and set forth Christ Jesus, and the glory of his kingdom, which must be glorified, and will be glorified. And if we will not glorify him, God will stir up, yea, stones and worms of the earth, to glorify his Son. For his glory must prosper and increase, and at length shall cast down all the glory of this world, so that in the end no glory shall stand, but only of Christ Jesus crucified. St. Paul, understanding this glorious majesty of the Son of God, regarded to know nothing else but only Christ Jesus and him crucified, 1 Cor. ii. And so likewise shall be our parts, especially those who are preachers and ministers in Christ's church, to employ all our endeavour to the same end, that Christ Jesus may be preached and glorified, especially in these our days and times, wherein the world seemeth to grow in an utter contempt of Christ and of his kingdom. For, to omit first to speak of the Jews and Turks, which are professed enemies to the cross of Christ, and have despoiled him of the greatest portion of his universal church; even amongst us which yet remain, and bear the name of christians, how many do live as though we knew not Christ, or believed not his teaching, or passed not* much for that we profess!

Of this ignorance and contempt of Christ, riseth all these heaps of mischiefs, which daily grow, and now overflow the world. The devil rages, the Turk daily winneth ground upon us, the papist persecuteth, and yet all this will not awake us to seek to Christ in whom only lieth our victory. Our covetous, voluptuous, vicious, and ambitious life, what does it declare, but either infidelity, or neglecting of Christ's kingdom? We talk of heaven, we walk not to heaven. For whatsoever our outward face pretendeth, to examine our hearts by our fruits, what thing almost is so vile in this world, which we do not more esteem than the kingdom of heaven. The glory of Christ is not our study, or certes, is the least part of our study. Our wits and senses are so occupied and employed in other affairs and worldly studies, that what was done in the mount of Calvary for

* Cared not.

our redemption, scarce have we leisure once to think thereof; or if we think a little, it sinketh not down, it tarrieth not with us. We hear of the glory of Christ, but we feel it not, we talk of Christ, but have no experience of him, nor acquaintance with him; we honour him with lips, but our heart doth not hunger after him. Outwardly we profess him, but inwardly we pass not for him. For then is Christ not passed for, when any thing is preferred before him. And this is the cause why, amongst us christians, vice is so rife, the devil so strong, by his sorceries and witchcrafts to hurt and enchant us, as he doth, and man not able to withstand him; because Christ dwelleth not in us, who only can overcome the devil. For without Christ man can do nothing.

Wherefore, to awaken the hearts of such christians, in these drowsy days of carnal security, to the contemplation of the glorious kingdom of Christ, I was the more willing at the request of my friends to condescend in bestowing a little pains herein. And partly for the papist's cause, to do them some good if I could; who, albeit they profess the whole history of Christ's passion as we do, yet by their doctrine it seems, they go no further than the outward history. They make much ado about the cross of Christ, yet they know not his cross, and see little more in the passion of Christ than the sensible man* may do. They see him poor, sweating, bleeding, falsely accused, wrongfully oppressed, wounded, scourged, derided, crowned with thorns, nailed, crucified, hanging upon the cross naked, pierced, dead, and buried. All this they see, and his miracles also they confess which he wrought, and that he rose again the third day, and ascended up, &c. And because they grant the same to be the Son of God, therefore they magnify and worship all the outward implements that went to his blessed passion; the nails, the cross and timber, the spear, the crown of thorns, his coat and tunicle, &c. And herein standeth almost the sum total of their religion. But this is not enough. To know Christ Jesus crucified, and to know him rightly, it is not sufficient to stay in these outward things; we must go further than the sensible man, we must look inwardly with a spiritual eye into spiritual things. Neither is it perfectly enough for us to know that Christ was crucified, that he rose again, and ascended, &c. but here is need of God's Holy Spirit and revelation, to open unto us wherefore he died, wherefore he rose again,

* By the outward senses, human reasoning.

and for whom, that is, for our sins and our justification. To know, not the story of his death, but the power of his death, and the virtue of his resurrection; to know what his crucifying here in earth wrought above in heaven and underneath in hell; how by the blood of his cross the law is satisfied, God's wrath killed, his favour reconciled, all things pacified both in heaven and in earth, the devil conquered, death vanquished, hell gates destroyed. To know that crucified sacrifice of Christ's body to be a perfect deliverance of all his people from the beginning to the end of the world, to be a full satisfaction once and ever for all our sins, and absolute discharge and acquittance for all our debts; briefly, to be a free justification, redemption, and righteousness, before God for ever, to all them that believe in him, without any other means or help adjoined to him. And this is to know aright Christ Jesus crucified. The knowledge whereof seemeth to be wanting in the church of Rome, as may sensibly appear by their doctrine and institutes, by their auricular confession and satisfaction for sins, by their daily sacrifice, propitiatory masses, trentals, and purgatory, by merits of supererogation, invocation of saints, the pope's pardons and dispensations; finally by all the proceedings of that church, even from the holy water stock to the hanging pix on the high altar, which all being packed in one fardel,* as in Pandora's box together, are but altogether a mere ignorance of Christ Jesus crucified, and thereof take their ground and beginning.

Wherefore, to remove this disease of ignorance partly from these above rehearsed, whereby they may be reduced into the king's highway of their salvation; but especially for you that are mourning in conscience, to comfort you in Christ Jesus crucified, whom the terror of the law too much oppresses, I was so much the rather persuaded to have this sermon published; that Christ Jesus might not only be preached to the ears of some, but also printed, yea and painted, if I might, to the eyes of many. In which sermon, although I have not fully followed in speech and form every thing so precisely as was spoken, yet, so far as remembrance could serve me, I have not much digressed from the sentence, order, and principal points in the said sermon contained; adding withal some things more which I thought before to have spoken, and either for abundance of matter, or lack of memory, were forgotten. Also certain other

* Bundle, pack.

things then not spoken I have here inserted upon necessary occasion, yet conveniently serving for the purpose, and necessarily for the time, especially in two points; one concerning the daily sacrifice of the mass, the other touching the possibility of the law; with certain other additions incident, whereby this sermon, I must grant, is grown somewhat more large in printing, than it was in preaching.

And although the time now I see so miserable, that it avails little or nothing to take pains either in preaching or printing, when men, wholly given over to worldly studies, have little leisure and less desire either to hear sermons or to read books, be the argument ever so grave and comfortable—yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as the Lord hath a remnant of some faithful servants which walk after their Lord and God with a perfect heart, and are not hearers only, but seekers also of his kingdom; and especially for your cause that labour and are laden in conscience, wheresoever or whatsoever ye are, in whom the Lord hath wrought an earnest hunger, and hearty seeking for his kingdom; for you most principally I have penned this sermon Of Christ Crucified, and to you specially I dedicate and commend the same; desiring the same Lord Jesus crucified for us, that you in reading hereof may receive such spiritual refreshing to your souls, and high courage of faith in Christ Jesus, that neither Satan may deceive you, nor the law terrify you, nor death confound you, nor sin oppress you, nor conscience captive you, nor hell gates prevail over you; but that you, rightly understanding with all saints, what is the hope of your calling, the riches of your inheritance, the greatness of his power towards you; and what is the breadth, length, and profundity, and what is the superadmirable love of knowledge of Christ Jesus crucified, may superabound in all heavenly consolation, Eph. i. and also with a holy pride may triumph in Christ Jesus. In whom, as I wish to you all spiritual benediction and goodness, so I beseech you likewise to pray for me your fellow-brother, servant, and debtor in the Lord to you and to all others; who preserve both you and us all with you, in these dangerous days, from all wickedness, to his everlasting kingdom. Amen.

THE SERMON

OF

CHRIST CRUCIFIED.

First for the ground and argument of my sermon, I shall desire you, christian audience, to give ear unto a few words which I will recite to you out of St. Paul, written unto the Corinthians, 2 Cor. v. The words are these,

For Christ, therefore, or in Christ's name, we come to you as messengers, even as God himself desiring you. We pray you, for Christ's sake, that you will be reconciled unto God. For him which knew no sin, God hath made to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God by him, &c. 2 Cor. v.

In this parcel of scripture here is brought unto you, christian audience, a high message from a high and mighty Prince, of a high matter and weighty importance. Concerning the which message, I have to notify three things unto you, by order of the letter as it lieth.

First, Beginning with Him who is the sender of this message.

Secondly, To speak of them which are the messengers.

Thirdly, To show what is the message itself here sent unto us.

I. As touching the first, St. Paul, to prepare and stir up the minds of the Corinthians to more attention, expresses first the person and author of this message, in whose name he cometh; saying, In the name of Christ we come as ambassadors, &c. In the name, saith he, of Christ. Wherein we see the words of Christ our Saviour rightly accomplished, wherein he, prophesying before of this his apostle and messenger, speaketh to Ananias in this wise, saying, Go to him, for he is an elect vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings, and before the children of Israel, Acts ix.

In like manner, the other apostles also, whensoever they come, either showing whose servants they are, or to teach any doctrine, or to work miracles, they ever bear the name of Christ before them. With him they begin, and with

him they end. Now, if messengers or ambassadors which come from earthly princes and potentates in this world, are commonly esteemed and reputed according to the estate and place of those who send them; and especially if the matter bring with it any face of temporal commodity, men are wont right gladly to receive them. How much more then ought we to be moved with this heavenly and most joyful legation, directed unto us, not from any earthly prince or lord, but from the King of kings, and Prince of all princes, especially touching such a benefit here sent and offered unto us by him, of such special and singular effect, that without it no earthly thing in all the world can make us happy, and having it, nothing can make us miserable.

I remember about the beginning of queen Mary's reign, anno 1554, there was a certain message sent, not from heaven, but from Rome; not from God, but from the pope; not by an apostle, but by a certain cardinal who was called cardinal Pole, a legate from the pope's own white side, sent hither into England.

This cardinal legate first coming to Dover, was honourably received and brought to Greenwich; where he again being more honourably received by lords of high estate, and of the privy council, of whom some are yet alive, was conducted from thence to the privy stairs of the queen's court at Westminster; no less a person than king Philip himself waiting upon him and receiving him, and so was brought to the queen's great chamber, she then being, or else pretending to be, not well at ease. Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England, receiving this noble legate in the king and the queen's behalf, to commend and set forth the authority of this legate, the greatness of his message, and the supreme majesty of the sender, before the public audience of the whole parliament at that time assembled, there openly protested, with great solemnity of words, what a mighty message and of what great importance was then brought into the realm—even the greatest message, said he, that ever came into England; and therefore desired them to give attentive and inclinable ears to such a famous legation, sent from so high authority.

Well, and what message was this? Forsooth, that the realm of England should be reconciled again unto their father the pope; that is to say, that the queen with all her nobility, and sage council, of so many learned prelates, discreet lawyers, worthy commons, and the whole body of

the realm of England, should captive themselves, and become underlings to an Italian stranger and friarly priest sitting in Rome, who never knew England, never was here, never did or shall do England good! And this, forsooth, said Gardiner, was the greatest embassage, the weightiest legacy that ever came to England!—forgetting belike either this message of God sent here by his apostles unto us, or else because he saw it made not so much for his purpose as did the other, he made the less account thereof.

Well then, and will ye see what a weighty message this was that Gardiner so exquisitely commendeth? First, the sender is gone, the messenger is gone, the queen is gone, and the message gone, and yet England not a rush the better. Of which message I may say, answering again to Gardiner, that this was the lightest and most trifling legacy of all legacies or messages that ever came or shall come to England, namely, that we should be reconciled again to the pope. But let the pope with his reconciliation go, as they are already gone, (God be thanked,) and I beseech God so may they be gone, that they may never come here again. England never fared better than when the pope did most curse it; and yet I hear whispering of certain privy reconcilers, sent of late by the pope, which secretly creep in corners. But this I leave to them that have to do withal. Let us again return to our matter.

We then, having this legation sent to us, not from the pope, but even from our Lord and God; not by any cardinal of Rome, but by the elect vessel of Christ the apostle St. Paul, and other apostles; let us attend with reverence, first to Him that sendeth, then to the messengers that are sent unto us; remembering how Rahab the harlot received the messengers of Moses, and was preserved, Josh. ii. vi.; remembering also the words of our Saviour, He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, &c. Luke x.

Wherefore, considering with ourselves, good christian audience, the high majesty of this our supreme Prince, the sender of this message, being not only our Head and King anointed, but who also of love gave his life and blood, as this day, to be spent for our redemption; let us, for our parts, if we are his subjects, mark what our Prince requireth; let the flock hear what the Pastor teacheth; the body what the Head speaketh; the spouse what the spouse sendeth. And thus much touching the Sender of the message.

II. Now, what the messengers are, and who they are, the apostle proceeding further in the letter, thus inferreth; We, saith he, are sent as messengers, &c., speaking not of himself alone, nor of Peter alone, nor of any apostle, one more than another; but jointly joining them all in one office and calling together, without difference of degree or singularity of person, he saith, We are sent as messengers or apostles. For so signifieth the name of apostles, as much to mean as a messenger or a legate sent. Where is to be noted by the way, that this nominative, We, in the plural number is not here to be expounded after the style of Rome. For, the swelling style of the court of Rome, useth commonly, when any mandate, brief, or sentence is given, thus to say, Nos Willielmus pro tribunali sedentes, &c. Nos Edmundus, Roberto Cluney literato, &c. We, William, &c.

So the bishop of Rome, directing forth his precepts or bulls, never speaketh in other number, but Mandamus, we command; Statuimus, we appoint; Ordinamus, we order; et Volumus, we will. And although he be but one singular person that speaks, and such as will needs be singular alone above all others; yet disdains he to speak in the singular number, but always uses the plural, to express belike his regal priesthood. Who, because he seeth great kings and emperors use this trope of writing and speaking, lest he should seem in any point inferior to them, or not to speak as big as they, uses therefore the same regal or imperial phrase of speech, with his mandamus, et volumus, &c.; when as Christ in the gospel is content to say, A new command give I unto you, not, We give to you. But let the pope's style with the court of Rome pass, which as it is but puffed up with the wind of pride, so let it vanish away with the wind also.

This is certain, that St. Paul in these words, We come as messengers, &c. meaneth no such matter, to signify either himself alone, or Peter alone, or any other of the apostles singularly; but jointly comprehendeth the whole fellowship of the blessed apostles together, and declareth, that they, all together joined in one commission, are sent in the behalf and name of Christ, as legates or messengers, and not only to these Corinthians to whom here he writeth, but inclusively to all others, wheresoever either collected or dispersed in the whole world, according as it was enjoined them by the Lord's own special commission, saying, Go into the whole world, and preach this gospel or glad

message to every creature. Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved, Matt. xxviii.

Well, and what shall we then say? Did this message of the apostles cease with the end of the apostles? Or did the preaching thereof extend no further, but during the continuance of their time? Yes, verily; for He which then set them on work, and sent them on this message, putting in their mouth the word of reconcilement, is the same Lord which liveth still, and ceaseth not to send messengers into his church from time to time. Some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some teachers and instructors; some with one gift, some with another, and all for the edifying of his people, to have the message of his gospel continued in the world, which still shall be continued, so long as his church shall endure; for He cannot, and will not totally and finally forsake his church, which is his kingdom.

But as it then happened in the apostles' time, there crept in with them certain false apostles and sinister teachers, which, confounding together the law with the gospel, Moses with Christ, man's merits with mercy, confidence in works with God's free grace and promises, laboured to pervert the course of this blessed message, sent to us by the mouth of the apostles. So hath there not lacked since that time in the church, some false catholics and false teachers, not sent of God to do his message; but creeping in craftily, to lead a loitering life, some impudent, some negligent, some ignorant and blind, having a zeal of God, but not after knowledge, as St. Paul saith, Rom. x. Some preaching themselves, some preaching for benefices and promotions; some teaching before they have learned; some speaking that they know not, nor having experience whereof they speak; some also plain enemies to the cross of Christ, and subverters of his heavenly message; of which sort we have had heretofore too much experience of late years, when the pope had the leading of this church of England.

But, blessed be the God of all consolation, and Father of our Lord Jesus, who hath visited us from on high with such mercy and grace, and hath raised up such ministers and messengers of his holy grace and gospel to his church, which so constantly accord and tune in one string together, to set forth the lively message and truth of Christ's gospel unto you; which you daily do hear, and which, as it doth me good to see, so do I most heartily rejoice from the bottom of my heart and soul, and praise God with my

hearty thanks therefore. And yet, nevertheless, to speak the simple truth touching the present state of this our ministry, if I should say that nothing therein were amiss, I should indeed blanch and flatter too much. For who seeth not that many this day enter into the ministry, not as God's messengers sent of any message from him, but winding in themselves by hook or crook, or by some compound way, parting half stakes, as it were, between their patrons and them, and having either no art to find them, or no mind to labour, make a trade of living of the ministry, more to live at ease than to labour in God's message.

Many other abuses might be here recited, but I am not at this time to complain of any, but only to preach Christ Jesus crucified unto you. And if there be any thing in them further to be complained of, I leave it to the ministers themselves, or to their patrons that receive them, or to their bishops which induct them, to look upon it. But to our purpose; they that will be the true messengers of God, let them well consider what their office is, whose messengers they are, and do their message faithfully.

The office of ministers was wont in the time of barbarous popery, to be counted "orare, predicare, sacrificare," to pray, to preach, and to sacrifice. But they which allotted those offices to the ministry, thought belike to bring in the Aaronical or Levitical priesthood again, with their praying for the sins of the people, and offering continual sacrifice for the same. As for prayer, which they call Orare, I take that office as common to all christian men, and not only appropriate to the ministry to pray, I mean for sins. And as touching Sacrificare, if they mean thereby to sacrifice Christ's body for sin, that office only appertaineth to Christ, and to none other. But we which are entered now into the new testament, and are passed from shadows to the body, from legal significations to spirit and truth, following the direction of Christ's commission in his gospel, do say, with St. Paul, that the principal office of the ministers of the new testament is, to labour in the word and doctrine, 1 Tim. v. that is, By word and doctrine to do God's message, and to preach to the people, the word which God hath put in their mouths, or which he hath left unto them by his apostles. Although, beside this, divers other duties are incident to the order of ministers, as, to minister the sacraments, to pray, to offer thanksgiving, to reprove, to comfort, to lay on hands, to excommunicate, &c., yet the

principal end which chiefly concerns the ministers of the new testament is, by preaching repentance, and the glad message of the gospel, to bring all men to the obedience of Christ's faith, for remission of sins.

III. And thus much concerning the function of ministers, whose office is, as you have heard, to be messengers or ambasadors of Christ in dispensing the mysteries of his word. Now, touching the message that is sent by them unto us, let us consider what followeth, by the text. The words are these ; Even as God, desiring you by us, we pray you, for Christ's sake, or in Christ's behalf, that you will be reconciled unto God, &c.

Here now cometh in the joyful message and glad tidings of the gospel, which St. Paul calleth the word of reconcilement. Wherein is to be explained unto you in order and distinctly, first, what this reconcilement is, between whom it is, by whom it cometh, with all such things, as well going before, as which follow after it. But first, forsomuch as the preaching of reconciliation imports a variance or division between God and us going before, let us something entreat of the same, and put you in remembrance of that miserable thraldom wherewith we were once oppressed, lying under the grievous wrath of God, which in my mind is much needful of all christian men thoroughly to be considered, and let us compare the same to the state which we are now called unto. For else how shall we rejoice at God's grace, if we feel not before his judgment? Or, what thanks can they give for the gift, which never understand what lack they had? What passeth he for heaven, which feeleth no hell? Or, who careth for the physician but he that is sick?

And though I know there are a good sort of godly mourning souls in Sion, who lie groaning under the fear of God's heavy indignation ; and need rather with boldness to be refreshed, than with more fear to be dejected ; yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as the greater sort commonly have their cogitations otherwise occupied ; some not touched with any sorrow, some not examining their consciences nor feeling their wound, some not tasting any hell, some not caring for any God ; to help, therefore, such senseless souls, and to rouse them a little out of their careless sleep of security, let us enter into some consideration of our damnable and cursed state, wherein all we once did, and do stand by nature, all such, I say, as are not yet reconciled in Christ. For what

can be more grievous and horrible than the creature to be sundered and parted from the grace and good will of his Creator and Maker? to lack his protection, to sustain his wrath, to be outlawed from our own country of paradise where we were first created; to be severed from him, without whom nothing can do us good, and we are good for nothing? For if all goodness be in him, what can be without him but that which is evil? If life leave us, what remaineth but death? If God forsake us, what receiveth us but the devil, author of all mischief, and fountain of all calamity? Of whose miserable dominion over us we have felt and tasted too much already.

Now take a man in all his abundance of riches, treasures, and pleasures, flourishing in his most felicity, bravery, and prosperity; let him be, if ye will, another Polycrates of this world, what is he of himself but a carcase, a caitiff, a subject of Satan, a prey to death; rejoicing and laughing in this world, but yet as one that laugheth in his dream, and waketh in sorrow, fraught full of fears and cares of mind, blind in soul, not knowing to-day what will happen to-morrow, void of all inward rest and peace of conscience, mortal, mutable, miserable, wrapped in wretchedness, prone to all wickedness, whose beginning is in travail, his standing uncertain, his end is corruption; briefly, as one living in death, and dead being alive. For how is he alive that is dead to God? Let the dead, saith our Saviour, go bury the dead, &c. Matt. viii. speaking of them which lived, and yet were dead to God. And how can we be else but dead to God, except we are brought and reconciled by Christ to God?

And yet for all this, such is our dulness, that either we feel not what it is to lack the Lord, or our wilfulness is such that we care not for that we lack. But howsoever it be, that either we will not or cannot see, the end of all things declareth what a miserable thing it is for the creature to be divided from the Creator; in whom, as every thing hath its being, so not to be in him is to be indeed nothing; whom once we had, but afterwards lost him, and in losing him have lost with him all things. By creation first we had him, by transgression afterward we lost him, and all through the means of our great progenitor Adam; who, by his disobedient presumption, brought this woful division between God and us. Whereupon hath ensued all this rueful ruin of the whole creature and nature of man, being

secluded from God's favour and protection, and given over to death and to him that hath power of death, that is, to Satan, who ever since hath had dominion over us.

And thus may you see, good christian audience, the sorrowful state and condition of mankind, fallen from his original happiness wherein he was first planted, not into a peck of troubles, but into a hell full of all miseries, into utter desolation and destruction, death and damnation, and all through the transgression of one. Out of whose root first springeth this public infection of our nature, which we call original sin, prone to all corruption, destitute of grace and righteousness, and void of all goodness; which original canker hanging in our flesh, draweth us from God and all goodness. Whereof St. Paul, in his letter to the Romans, complaineth thus, and saith, That he knoweth and feeleth that in him; that is to say, in his flesh, there is no goodness dwelling. And again, where he saith, I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, captiving me, Rom. vii. And this original sin is called, sin dwelling or lurking in us, &c. Whereby we have to understand, that beside our outward actions which break out into open sin, there lurketh also inwardly, in the bottom of our nature, a secret fomes, a breeder of sin, an original infection, or, as we may call it, a secret sparkle of the serpent's seed, infecting our nature, and drawing us from all heavenly disposition to all earthly concupiscence.

Which lurking infection in us, although it seem but a small matter to many, and especially to the papists, who use too much to extenuate it, and to make light thereof; yet we must understand that in God's sight it appeareth a mighty matter, passing all other sins; who not only looketh upon our outward and manifest transgressions which we daily commit against his law, but also considereth the person especially, and the crooked nature, inwardly infected within us, out of which issue forth these outward transgressions, and so punisheth the same with no less penalty than the outward sins committed against the law. Like as if a mighty hunter chasing the wild wolf, and happening upon the wolf's den, findeth there the young wolflings, which as yet never did any raven; yet because of the same nature lurking in them, he useth them no otherwise than he doth the old. Even so let every man repute himself, as touching his first birth and outward man, as he originally descendeth of Adam, to be execrable unto God, and not

only his outward evil doings, but also his inward nature and very person, before he begin to work, to be odious unto him.

Which being well expended and weighed in our minds, let us then cast with ourselves in what a miserable perplexity and wretched case we sinful creatures were and yet are, so many as are not yet reconciled again in Christ. For what can be more miserable than for man to be under the heavy displeasure and wrath of his God? As I said, the creature to be divided from his Creator; the pot or vessel to be displeasant or in hatred with the potter? For what are we else, but as earthen pots in the hands of our God, who formed and created us?

Now, if variance and debate breed such dangers and mischiefs amongst the creatures themselves, wheresoever it cometh, what is to be thought of that discord which is between the seely* creature and the Creator himself? In a commonwealth we see what a woful state there is, where the prince with his nobles, or the nobles with the commons, cannot agree. What a hell is in that house where the husband and wife live together in continual jar! Or who can abide to live in that city, where the citizens, through civil dissention, are dissevered in sides among themselves, one fighting against another? The harmony of music may teach us, what an amiable thing to nature it is to tune in one agreement of concord, and how contrary to nature discord soundeth. In the body, both of man and beast, where the elemental qualities and humours do not concord together in due proportion and conveniency, life there cannot consist. Briefly, if the wrath of an earthly king in this earth, be death, as the wise king speaketh in the scripture, what is it then to be under the wrath of the almighty King of all kings, and God of all creatures!

And under this wrath of our Lord and God, all we mortal wretches for sin in us, (which God created not, but hateth in us,) were wofully wrapped; and, as the scripture speaketh, We were by nature the children of wrath, &c. Eph. ii. enemies to God, divided and sundered from him; and so continued a long time, ever since this sinful nature first took place in us. For sin, by nature, gendereth wrath and provoketh judgment; judgment by law ministereth death and damnation: with death entereth the devil, and with him heaps of infinite miseries and calamities. And

* Poor, helpless, ignorant.

in this wretched condition lieth man by nature, that is, all we that are Adam's children. Let no man flatter himself, or think better of himself, that is, of his own original nature, than is here declared. Neither is here declared any other thing than the scripture itself concludeth, which concludeth us altogether to be under sin. All our mouths are stopped, and we destitute of the glory of God, standing all at his mercy and grace, Rom. iii. We have all gone astray, saith the prophet Isaiah, every man in his own wicked way, Isa. liii. And are all unprofitable servants, saith Christ, yea, when we have done the best we can, Luke xvii. And if our best doings are unprofitable in the sight of God to salvation, where then shall our evil deeds become?

These premises, thus considered and concluded by the scriptures, as you have heard; what shall we say, good christian audience and beloved brethren? Shall we now despair, or is there no remedy, no hope nor help to be had? No, truly, in ourselves, in ourselves, I say, none, none at all. For the just judgment of God must needs have its course. God's sentence once pronounced must needs proceed. And as none of us all was ever born, Christ only excepted, or is now living, that carrieth not the wound of original sin about him; so is there none of us all that possibly in himself can avoid the sentence of God's terrible justice; but death and condemnation will needs proceed against us, under which sentence and malediction we all, every mother's son, as touching ourselves, should have perpetually continued, had not a certain dear good Friend of ours, our singular good Lord and only patron, a mighty Captain, stepped in between, who, to keep off the blow from us, bare the stroke of God's heavy wrath, and so delivered us from death, being for us slain himself, and thereby slew all enmity between God and us, pacifying by the blood of his cross all things, both in heaven and earth, and so hath purchased this blessed and happy reconciliation between his heavenly Father and us earthly creatures.

And as he hath purchased it, so hath he sent tidings of the same here by his apostle St. Paul, and by all his other apostles, all about, throughout the whole world, to every creature. Whereof Isaiah thus speaketh, marvelling and rejoicing at the coming of these messengers; How fair, saith he, are the feet upon the mountains of him that bringeth tidings, and preacheth peace, bringeth tidings of good things, and preacheth salvation, saying to Sion, Thy

God shall reign, &c. Isa. lii. Which prophecy you see here verified by the preaching of these apostles; and not only by them, but by others also, whom Christ our Saviour ceaseth not, continually, from time to time, to stir up in his church to be his messengers and legates apostolical. Who now coming to you also, Londoners, as St. Paul did to the Corinthians, with the same words speak to you, saying, We pray you, for Christ's sake, be reconciled unto God, &c.

Whereby all mourning souls, wheresoever you are, or whatsoever you are, that labour and are burdened, may note for your comfort, how not only the Lord offereth himself ready to be reconciled to you, if you be willing; but also lovingly and most gently sendeth forth his servants to entreat you to be reconciled unto him. As though they said, In God there is no hinderance, but you may boldly come and be reconciled whosoever desireth to be at peace with him, only let there be no stay in you. Be you willing to be reconciled, and you shall speed; come, and you shall be received; hold out your hand to take what he will give, and you shall have. What more can you desire? And yet, moreover, to encourage you to come to him, not only he offereth himself ready at your suits to be entreated, but also sendeth abroad his messengers to entreat you to come and be reconciled to him.

And further, lest ye should think those messengers to come in their own name, and so regard them the less, mark what St. Paul addeth moreover, and how he not only prayeth them, but also in a manner adjureth them, We pray you, saith he, for Christ's sake—as though he would say, As you love Christ, and will do any thing for his cause which hath so dearly bought you, we pray you, not for ourselves, but in the name of Christ, that you will be reconciled unto God.

And yet, neither is this also enough, which notwithstanding is so much as may make us all to marvel at his mercies. But mark, moreover, the speech of the Holy Ghost, and consider the exceeding tenderness of the unspeakable benignity of our God. We were the offenders, and he the party that was offended; we his creatures, and he our Maker; we the first breakers from him, and yet all this notwithstanding, such is the passing, and more than fatherly richness of his grace, that he not only offereth and sendeth unto us, yea, adjureth us in his own Son's name; but also, which is more than all that can be most, even the

same God prayeth us, even himself, even us, I say, such miserable and damnable wretches, that we will come and be agreed with him—for so the tenour of our text in plain words purporteth, where he saith; Even as God himself praying you by us, we pray you for Christ's sake that you will be reconciled unto God, &c. Here is offending, and yet here is praying, and praying again. Oh gentleness! Oh kindness! Man first began the division, and God beginneth first the reconciliation! God prayeth, Christ prayeth, and the apostle prayeth! Man offendeth and hath forfeited his soul to the devil, and yet is prayed! He that should pray to be forgiven, is prayed to be content to be forgiven! What should we here say or think, well beloved Corinthians here of London, but cry out with the words of Nazianzen, "Oh the readiness of God's gracious love! Oh the easiness of his exorable reconcilement!"

Although it be not in my utterance, nor in any mortal tongue to express the fulness of these deep and profound mysteries of spiritual things; yet by that, as I could declare, somewhat you heard, and more may conceive with yourselves, first of the horrible wrath of God, and his strict severity against sin, with all such penalties, pains, and punishments due for the same, declared unto you. After that, you heard again of the singular and superabundant greatness of his fatherly tenderness toward us; who so willingly, so kindly, not only offereth his reconciliation, but also inviteth us, yea, prayeth us to be reconciled to him.

Now, what this reconciliation is, and what great things come thereof, it followeth likewise to be considered. Which, albeit it cannot so amply be described to you as it is in itself, yet by similitudes and examples partly it may be conceived. For, as we see in a worldly government, when any subject is under the indignation and displeasure of his prince, his state is miserable, his mind unquiet, fraught full of fear and dread, his heart out of comfort, in his life no safety, but he, living like a dead man; briefly, no calamity lacketh where the wrath of a prince hangeth. But if the trespass be pardoned, and the displeasure removed, then fear departeth, hope reviveth, comfort cometh, and life beginneth to look up. Even so, or rather much more than so, it is between God and man. For so long as we were under wrath, there was nothing in man but death, dread, damnation, hell, malediction, the tyranny of Satan, unquietness; in sum, all the miseries of hell were heaped

upon the poor soul of man. But after it pleased the goodness of our God to turn from us his wrath, and to receive us again to favour, now all is turned, our fear to hope, death to life, damnation to salvation, hell to heaven, malediction to blessing; the power of Satan dissolved; care to comfort; and, in sum, all the felicities, so many as paradise can hold, do now belong to man.

But what should I set forth the high amplitude of this heavenly reconciliation of our Lord, by earthly similitudes, which by no comparison of man can be expressed? For in man's agreement, though the prince be reconciled ever so well with the subject, yet it may happen that the agreement may break off again shortly after. Again, the reconcilement that is between man and man, is commonly but for that one trespass which bred the variance, which being forgiven agreement cometh. So is it not between God and us. Neither is his reconciliation so variable or inconstant as altereth by days or times, but is the receiving of mankind into the eternal favour and mercy of God, even the same which Isaiah the prophet, chap. liv. speaketh of in these words, saying, For a little moment of time I have left thee, but in great mercies I will gather thee. In a moment of my indignation I have hid my face awhile from thee, but in my everlasting mercy I have pitied thee, saith the Redeemer thy Lord, &c.

This reconciliation now to be defined, is the receiving again of man into the perpetual favour of God, purchased by Christ to all them that by faith and repentance come unto him. Which eternal favour of God, as we showed before to be freely offered unto us, so now remaineth further to be explained what favour this is, how it is perpetual, by what cause it cometh, and to whom it belongeth. Touching the first, to declare what favour this is whereunto we are received, here is to be understood by the meaning of St. Paul, this favour to be that which is contrary to the wrath and malediction which went before for sin. For, as that malediction did threaten unto us eternal rejection, under which we were, and should perpetually have continued had it not been stopped; so is this reconcilement a receiving again into eternal acceptation, which perpetually doth and shall continue, for Christ's sake, to all faithful believers in him. And this favour I call perpetual in respect of time; for that God promiseth never to remember, nor to impute our sins any more for Christ's sake, Jer. xxxi.

And hereof springeth the fountain of perpetual remission promised, Zech. xiii. where he saith, In that day shall be open to the house of David, and to the dwellers of Jerusalem, a fountain to the cleansing away of sin, &c.

Where note how the prophet saith, In that day, assigning not divers and sundry days when Christ's body should be offered for sin; but signifying that one day should come, when that Lamb and sacrifice which was slain from the beginning of the world, in God's determination, and afterward was offered actually once and no more, should suffice to purge away the sins and filthiness of all the dwellers in Jerusalem, that is, of all such as retain to him by faith. And thus have you the cause of remission of sins to be only the sacrifice of Christ's body offered up to God, not every day, but in one appointed day, which we call Good Friday. For the which sacrifice sake, God hath assured his promise to all and singular persons that shall come or seek to his Son by faith, to give them free forgiveness, and never to remember nor impute their sins to them any more.

And herein standeth the difference between the pope's doctrine and ours. For he holdeth that the sacrifice of Christ's body, not one day, but every day is to be offered for sin. Contrary, we with the scriptures affirm remission of sins to be the effect only of one cause, that is, of Christ's blood, our Saviour, sacrificed once on Good Friday upon the cross, (and never else,) to take away all malediction of sin for ever, as well for them that were before his passion, as them that should follow after. And that is it that the scripture saith, The Lamb to be slain from the beginning of the world, (and so is he slain to the latter end,) meaning thereby the virtue and power of that sacrifice to extend universally to all times, to all men, and to all kinds of sins, from the beginning to the end of the world for ever. So that on Christ's part, the cause only which worketh reconciliation and remission of sins, is his only death and blood-shedding once sacrificed actually, and never else, upon Good Friday. On our parts, the cause only that worketh this reconciliation and remission, and is of us required, is not to offer up this body again for a daily sacrifice to God, but only to believe faithfully and obediently upon him that was sacrificed for us, and so by faith to apply the merits of his passion to us. And to this faith God hath promised perpetual remission of our sins, according to the manifest testimony of the scripture; where it is in the Acts of the

apostles thus expressed, That to him all the prophets bear witness, all men to receive remission of sins by him, whosoever believe in his name, &c. Acts x. Again, Acts xvi. Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole house, &c. Peter and Paul say not, Offer Christ's body for a daily sacrifice to God ; but only, Believe in him, and thou shalt be saved. And thus much hitherto concerning reconciliation, what it is, how it is perpetual, what is the only cause thereof, and to whom it belongeth ; whereof more shall be said, Christ willing, anon.

Now as touching this reconciliation and favour of God aforesaid, as it reacheth to the free remission of all men, and to all times, as well before as after ; so moreover, this is to be added, and worthy to be noted, that not only it reacheth to our sins, but extendeth to the acceptation of the nature and person also of man, so that through this reconcilement, not only our sins are done away, but also the person of man, which before was execrable unto God, is now accepted ; which before was odious, is now beloved ; which before was impure and unclean, is now purified, regenerated and changed as into another person ; and as ye would say, made a new man in the sight of God ; not because the new life of a man makes the man new in God's sight, but because the man being first made new, and regenerated by reconciliation, brings forth afterward a new life.

And here cometh in that which we call regeneration, or new birth ; not in being altered into any new bodily substance from that we were, but in being turned by reconciliation into a new state of favour and grace ; as, who before were dead to God, damnable creatures, and children of wrath, but now are accepted, purged, and justified from the malediction, as well of original sin as actual ; which before times were separated from God, but now restored again to grace and favour—even the same favour of God wherein Adam stood before his fall in paradise.

Of this regeneration we read in many places in the scripture, which give us to understand this our new regenerate birth to be referred, not so much to the outward acts of life, as chiefly to the person and nature of man, altered and changed into a new state of grace and favour with God, by spiritual reconciliation ; yea, before he begin to work any good action. Whereupon afterward follow the fruits of new life, which we call good works, and are called good, not so much for the worthiness of the action

done, as for the worthiness of the person, the doer thereof, which is a faithful christian reconciled in Christ to God. And thereof take good works their goodness, being not only accepted for good, but also imputed in scriptures sometimes to merit; as where Christ our Saviour saith, I was hungry, and ye fed me; I was in prison, and ye visited me; come, therefore, and possess the kingdom, &c. Matt. xxv. Not that the value of the work deserveth that imputation, but that the work is so imputed for the faith of the person; for else, let an infidel do the same, and more too, and all is sin that he doeth. But let the christian do, be the thing ever so simple, if it be good it is accepted, and if it be otherwise, yet is it remitted; so that in a brief sum, the order of all this thus standeth; first, cometh Christ crucified and offered for us; with him cometh faith apprehending him; with faith ensueth reconciliation or justification through the promise; whereby man being reconciled unto God, which before was rejected, is made now a new creature, because he is set now in a new stock; and this is called regeneration. After regeneration of the person, which is accepted for his faith, followeth then the fruits of new obedience, which are accepted for the faithful person. But because our new obedience is always and in all men imperfect, and falleth many times into disobedience through frailty of flesh, for a remedy thereof followeth remission of sins. And thus have you the golden chain of our salvation; first, beginning with Christ; then cometh faith; then followeth reconciliation or justification; with it cometh regeneration; after which ensueth new obedience, or mortification with acceptation of good works; last of all cometh remission of sins, and maketh all sure.

Touching which remission of sins, here is further to be noted; first, that this remission is not only of all such sins as go before baptism, or regeneration; but also of such which a man repenteth him of with faith, from the beginning till the end of his life. Secondly, is to be understood, that this remission is not only for all actual sins which man committeth, but also for original sin which nature bringeth. Thirdly, neither must we think this remission of the new testament to be like to the remission of sins practised in the old law, which stood by sacrifices. Wherein this difference there is, first, that remission which was by sacrifices, served not for all sins, nor for such as were to come, but only for such sins as were before the sacrifice;

so that whensoever any new sin followed, new sacrifices were required. Secondly, that remission stood only for actual sin, and not for original. Thirdly, in that legal or temporal remission is moreover to be noted, that sacrifice for sin was then but a thing typical, so that albeit the crime for which the sacrifice was offered was done away, yet the person notwithstanding remained still under death and the penalty of original sin pronounced against Adam and all his posterity. Briefly, in one word to conclude, between this remission of the new testament and that of the old, so much difference there is, as is between temporal things and eternal. Of which difference let us hear what the prophet Jeremiah teacheth us, saying; Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, and I shall make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Judah; not after the covenant that I made with their fathers when I brought them out of Egypt with strong hand, and they transgressed my covenant; but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will give my law within them, and in their heart I will write it, and I will be their God, and they my people, &c. For I will have mercy of their iniquities, and their sins I will never more remember, &c. Jer. xxxi.

By these words of the prophet, if they are well marked, we have to learn a manifest difference between the old covenant and the new; and what the grace is of the new testament, especially concerning remission of sins, which sins he saith shall never more be remembered; meaning that a day should come when God will set such a sacrifice for sin, which shall give a perpetual remedy for ever; so that, although sin shall need daily to be helped, yet no more sacrifices should be needed, but that one should serve and suffice for ever. Whereby we see remission of sins to stand otherwise now than it did then. For in the old law, though sins were purged after a sort, by sacrifices and blood of beasts, yet that remission lasted not for ever, but for certain times, so that new sins ever required new sacrifices.

Wherein appeareth the pernicious abuse of the daily sacrifice of the pope's mass, most false and contrary to all scripture, utterly subverting the truth of God's covenant and testament. For if sin should need daily purgation by daily sacrificing, as it did before, what difference then make we between the new testament and the old, between the Christians and the Jews? Or, if Christ's body, once

sacrificed for sin, cannot serve except it be daily sacrificed for the purgation thereof, where is then this everlasting reconciliation taught by the apostles? Or where is this never remembering of our sins any more, promised by the prophets? see Heb. x. How is that wound cured for ever, which every day needeth a new plaster? Briefly, how hath he made them perfect, with one oblation for ever, which are sanctified, if Christ, once offered, suffice not, but every day must be offered afresh? What perfection is in that which every day is new to begin? If sin, (malediction* of sin I mean) be not once taken away for ever, how then hath Christ made us perfect for ever? Heb. x. Or, how hath he found out eternal redemption by once offering himself for us, Heb. ix. For what is eternal redemption else, but eternal remission of sins? Now, where remission of sins is, and the same remission eternal, what needeth any more hosts† or oblations for sin? As the apostle plainly testifieth, saying, Where remission of sins is, there is no more oblation for sin, &c. Heb. x.

Let us reason now then with these sacrificing priests of the pope's law, after their own distinctions. A continual or daily sacrifice, say they, must ever remain in the church. For what purpose? I ask. For remission of sins, say they. So had the Jews in the old law, continual and daily sacrifices for remission of sin remaining amongst them also. What difference is now between the new testament and the old, if the danger of sin remain in both testaments alike, to be done away by continual reiteration of sacrifices? Or, if there must needs be a difference, let them show what difference it is, or wherein it consisteth else but only in the cause of remission; which in the new testament standeth one for ever, in the old testament it is daily repeated by renewing of sacrifices. Of the which cause, the apostle to the Hebrews, speaking of Christ Jesus crucified and consummated, addeth moreover and saith; Was made to all which obey him the cause of eternal salvation, &c. Heb. v. By the which words we are taught the cause of remission of sins to be the only body of Christ offered for us, and the same body to be once offered and never more, as in the same epistle followeth in these words declared; Now hath he once appeared in this latter consummation of the world, to the destruction of sin by his own oblation, &c. Heb. ix.

* The curse.

† Victims. The consecrated wafers used at the Romish sacrament of the altar are called hosts.

Whereby we have to note, that as the once appearing of Christ is the only cause of destruction of sin, and remission not to be sought at any other cause but that alone, so is their doctrine vain which require any more appearings of Christ to remit sin, than only the same. And thus appeareth the true difference between remission in the old law and in the new; whereof the one, which stood by renewing of sacrifices, was temporal, the other is perfect and perpetual; perfect, I mean, as touching the cause of putting away sin, which once done standeth for ever.

But here come they with a blind distinction of bloody and unbloody, and say, that in the Jews' law they offered the blood of goats and calves, and of other divers sorts of beasts; but in the new law they offer continually one sacrifice and no more, which is the body of Christ, and that after an unbloody sort. Whereunto I answer, first, if they have the body of Christ, let them offer it. But they which read the scriptures do see and know that Christ's body is not here to be offered; unless they mean the members of his mystical body here in earth, which they sacrifice every day, with such store of blood as is pitiful to see! But else the true body of Christ indeed, the scripture placeth to be in heaven and not in earth. Once it was in the hands of sinners, and was offered of them; but now he is out of their hands, and past all men's reach to be offered any more. Wherefore, where they say they offer the body of Christ, that is but a fantasy. For as the presence of the body here ceaseth, so ceaseth the offering thereof also.

Now, although his bodily presence were here, yet is he not to be offered to appease God's wrath for sin any more. For, first, none can offer the body of Christ for sin to his Father, but himself; because in the new testament, to offer for sin requireth a priest which is immaculate, unpolluted, and segregated from sinners, as we read, Heb. vii. For so it behoved that our Bishop for us should be holy, innocent, &c. And again, But the word of the oath which followeth after the old law, appointed his Son to be our perfect Priest for ever, &c. Secondly, by the types of the old law, Christ cannot be offered for sin, but it must be without the tents by the law, or else his sacrifice cannot answer to the law. Thirdly, whensoever Christ is offered for the pacifying of God's wrath for sin, it must be upon the cross. For so we read, Col. i. Pacifying all things by the blood of his cross, all things both in heaven and in earth, &c. Fourthly,

it must be also with blood ; for by the scripture, Without effusion of blood there is no remission, &c. Heb. ix. Fifthly, where they say they offer no more sacrifices but one, which is the body of Christ ; that is not enough, forasmuch as the scripture requireth not only the host to be one, but the time also to be one. For probation whereof, we have the plain words of scripture, Heb. vii. where the apostle speaketh of offering for the sins of the people. For that, saith he, he hath done once, offering himself, Heb. vii. Also, chap. ix. where the same apostle, comparing Christ entering with his sacrifice, with the high priest in the old law entering into the secret tabernacle once a year, at last concludeth and saith ; So also Christ was once offered for the doing away the sins of many, &c. Again in the same chapter, excluding all offerings of Christ saving one, he saith, Not that he should offer himself at times as the high priest did ; but once, for the doing away of sin, he appeared by his own oblation, &c. Heb. ix. Sixthly, where they pretend to offer the body of Christ daily ; I ask, To whom ? They will say, To the Father. Wherefore ? To pacify his judgment for sin. Whereunto I answer with the gospel, that needeth not, for the gospel witnesseth, That the Father now judgeth no man any more, but hath given all judgment to his crucified Christ, John v. Also, Hath given to him power of all flesh, John xvii. Also, Hath given to him all power both in heaven and in earth, Matt. xxviii. Also, Christ now draweth all things to himself, John xii. Also, He hath appointed him Judge both of the quick and of the dead, Acts x. Now, if they say, they offer Christ's body, to Christ himself, for remission of sin, that is absurd and vain.

And thus much I thought necessary, having here to entreat of reconciliation, to speak against the sacrifice of the mass, for so much as these two cannot consist together, but one must needs destroy the other. For if the reconciliation of God's favour, purchased by Christ once for us, be perfect and perpetual, then this daily sacrificing for sin is superfluous. And if the same must needs be continued in the church, as a necessary remedy for appeasing God's wrath, and for expiation of sin from time to time, then must the sacrifice of Christ's priesthood be imperfect, being of no more power and virtue to reconcile us unto God than the yearly and daily sacrifices of the Jews, which ever required new sacrifices to be done for sin. And where is then the killing of God's wrath by the blood of Christ,

spoken of Col. i.? Where is the pacifying of all things, both in heaven and earth? Where is the difference between the old covenant and the new? or where is the never remembering of our sins any more? Where then are the goodly feet upon the mountains of them that bring us messages of peace, of good tidings and of salvation? Isa. lii. Where is the day, or what day of Christ was it which Abraham saw and rejoiced? or where is the one oblation, and that once offered, which bringeth eternal redemption? Heb. ix. x. Where is then captivity led away captive? Eph. iv. Where is the breaking of the serpent's head? Gen. iii. the overthrow of death? the victory of hell? the hanging up of the handwriting? Isa. xxxv. Where is the vail broken which separated us from God? the everlasting mirth upon the heads of them that are in Zion? or the confident dwelling of them in Jerusalem promised in Jer. xxiii. Ezek. xxxiv. Zech. xiv.? Or where is the eternal righteousness brought in, by the prophet Daniel, chap. ix. if this reconciliation be not eternal?

Briefly, to bring in any other sacrifices for sin, but only the oblation of Christ's blood, and that once offered, taketh away the glad message and power of the gospel; casteth men's minds into a doubtful wavering of their salvation, and finally dissolveth the whole harmony of the scriptures, both prophetical and apostolical. For, if the prophetical lamb in the old law, once slain on the fourteenth day of the first month, and his blood sprinkled, loosed the whole congregation out of the thraldom of Egypt, so that they were never brought into the same again; so the blood of Christ's cross, (to speak with the words of St. Paul,) once offered likewise on the fourteenth day of the said first month, dischargeth his whole universal church out of the bands of hell and of the devil, and that perpetually, never to be reduced thither again. And yet, notwithstanding—as the Israelites, being brought out of Egypt, when they sinned against God, were punished in the desert, and yet the promise of the plentiful land nevertheless still went forward —even so the elect members of Christ's church, after their deliverance, when they sin against God by fragility of weak flesh, their sins are punished with temporal scourges in this world, but yet the truth of God's everlasting favour standeth for ever, to all them that repent by faith.

As touching, therefore, the daily sacrificing of Christ's body, as I proved before, so I repeat again, and in one

word conclude, that no sacrifice of Christ's body can serve for sin, but where Christ himself is the priest. Neither doth the scripture admit any sacrifice propitiatory for sin, but where blood is, and where the suffering goeth withal, and the host is consumed without the tents by the fire of God's judgment.

These things thus discoursed and proved by the scriptures, to proceed now in our text, seeing Almighty God so gently offereth unto us, as ye have heard, good audience, let us take that he giveth; seeing he calleth so graciously, let us come to him; yea, seeing he prayeth so entirely, let us grant his request; and seeing so fatherly he spreadeth to us the arms of his reconciliation, let us with the lost son return home again to our Father. Briefly, seeing on his part there is nothing lacking that we can desire, let us now, for our parts, do that he desireth of us. What is that? That ye will for your parts be reconciled unto God, &c. How should we be reconciled unto God? Come to Christ, submit yourselves, and believe in him with a true faith, and thus you are reconciled to the Father. For so we read, If any man serve me, him will my Father honour, John xii. And if ye have not found this Son, seek for him by repentance. Seek, saith he, and ye shall find. Repentance seeketh, faith findeth; and if ye have found him, hold him. And how should ye hold him? Obey him, so shall ye hold him; for faith requireth obedience. Of this obedience we read, Heb. v. He is made to all men that obey him the cause of eternal salvation, &c. By him God is reconciled to us, though we offended. Now being reconciled, let us obey, and offend no more, lest his wrath again be kindled against us.

What shall we say then? May we lose again this reconciliation? And how then standeth this favour of God perpetual which I spake of before, if it may be lost? Truth is, the favour of God is perpetual to them whom he receiveth to reconciliation; and yet, albeit this favour be perpetual, we must not think therefore that God ceaseth now to be angry with sin, and that we may live now as we list. For these things, saith St. Paul, cometh the anger of God upon the children of disobedience, &c. Eph. v. And yet, neither again must we make such a fickle and unstable thing of this reconciliation of God, as though whosoever sinneth, by and by were cancelled out of the book of God's reconcilement. For how should then the elect be saved,

which fall sometimes as the reprobate do, and yet are not forsaken? Whom the Lord loveth, saith the scripture, he loveth to the end; and whom he receiveth, likewise, he receiveth to the end. Or, where were then remission of sins perpetually promised to the reconciled, if frailty of sinning do break the league of reconciliation? Sin, saith St. Paul, shall not prevail over you, Rom. vi. Also, St. John saith, And if you do sin, yet ye have an Advocate with the Father, and he is the propitiation for all our sins, 1 John ii.

Here therefore, we must make a distinction of sinners; of whom some are repentant and uprising sinners, some are unrepentant. The repentant sinner I call him, who when he slideth, doth it with a repugnance of will going before, and with a repentance of heart following after. The impenitent sinner, as he maketh no resistance before sin, so is he touched with no remorse after following, but taketh a delight in that whereof he should lament. The penitent sinner saith, I have sinned, but by God's grace I will amend and commit no more; the other saith, I have sinned, I do sin, and I will sin, whosoever saith nay. The voice of the one is, That good that I would do, that I do not, Rom. vii. The voice of the other is, The evil that I would do, that will I perform. In the flesh of the one, sin dwelleth, which St. Paul calleth, indwelling sin; but in the heart of the other, sin reigneth, and beareth the whole rule.

The difference of these two sinners considered, I answer now to the doubt, making this distinction also of reconciliation; that as there are two sorts of justification, one before God, another before man; so are there two sorts of reconciliation; the one is effectual with God, which St. Paul calleth, Secundum propositum,* the other is apparent only before man. Now then as touching the repentant sinner, I say, that sin in him absolutely breaketh not reconciliation between God and man. For else, where were remission of sins left to the church for a remedy to keep this atonement perpetual, if sin did break reconciliation? He that by vehemency of temptation and infirmity of flesh is fallen, or rather cast down, willing to do better, but not able to do what he would, the infirmity of this christian penitent obtaineth remission, breaketh not reconciliation, neither loseth grace, but rather doth illustrate grace; as Christ himself, resolving this question, answereth to St. Paul, My grace, saith he, is enough for thee, for in thy infirmity my power

* According to purpose.

is more declared, &c. 2 Cor. xii. And again, the apostle saith, Where sin aboundeth, there superaboundeth grace, Rom. v. meaning that sin which is joined with repentance. But contrariwise, they which presumptuously and obstinately, without remorse, or regard of Him whom they offend, take a pleasure and make a custom of sin, and have not (to use St. Paul's words) sin dwelling in them, but they rather dwell in sin ; and not only do not resist the temptations of Satan, but rather are tempters and Satans to others to follow their sinful appetites ; to such wilful men, whom I account no men, but rather monsters of men, I say not, that they, in thus doing, do lose the reconcilement of God which they had, but that they never had this effectual reconcilement with God to lose ; nor ever shall, unless they, through earnest repentance, seek to the Son of God by faith for remission of their sins, and are truly reconciled unto God by faithful obedience.

By this ye see that such as are sinners, not wilful, but penitent sinners, though by infirmity they sin, yet do they not lose the gift of reconciliation. And why ? For although they fall, yet they fall not under the law, but under grace ; that is to say, though the office of the law is naturally to work wrath, yet, forsomuch as the person of the sinner is not under the law, therefore is he not under wrath ; but instead of wrath cometh reconciliation, instead of the law reigneth grace.

Seeing therefore, such a loveday,* loving brethren, is made between God and you, through the mediation of Christ's cross, be ye now reconciled unto God, as he is to you. And as ye see his fatherly kindness in offering his reconciliation, you being in all the blame ; do you likewise express the like gentleness in reconciling yourselves for his sake, neighbour to neighbour, one toward another. Let all bitterness and wrath be far from you, and let not the sun go down upon your anger. When ye were offenders to God, what he hath done and doth, ye see. So if your neighbours, equals, or inferiors have offended you, or you them, stand not so much in your reputation to abase yourselves, but either come, or send forth your messengers of peace, not only to bid him good morrow, or good even, but thus say, Neighbour, I have offended you, and you me ; come, therefore, let us be reconciled, and live in love and charity, like brethren in Christ, as Christ hath reconciled us both unto his Father.

* Day appointed for making reconciliation.

And thus, as ye see, God hath given his own Son to death, to reconcile you unto him; let it not be grievous to you to give and forgive small matters to your neighbour, to nourish amity and agreement between him and you, without which agreement, I see not how man's life can consist. First, forsomuch as in this fragility of man's nature, it cannot be avoided, but where society is, offences will either be given or taken, some cause of grudge and variance will arise between man and man, man and wife, friend and friend, yea, brother and brother, that shall set them asunder.

Then, besides this, cometh in such a multitude of make-bates, of flatterers, whispering clawbacks, backbiters, tale-carriers, sycophants, and slandering tongues, sent out as Satan's messengers, to carry and recarry misreports and false lies, to sow the seed of dissention betwixt one and another; so that take away reconciliation, and it shall not be for any to live together, one with another, in this world.

Some there are which use to give light ear to such whisperers and flatterers, and these are much to blame. Others there are as light of credit, that whatsoever they hear told that they believe, and so believe the first tale that they will not believe the second; and these one-eared men are worse than the first, worthy to have but one ear on their heads, who will not hear with both. But the third sort is worst of all; who, being inflamed by sinister reports, after they have once conceived an inward grudge against their friend or neighbour, are so stiff, so wayward, and so crabbed, that hardly or never will they be reconciled after. Such stoical stomachs and unsociable natures, which neither live here like angels, nor yet remember themselves to be but men amongst men, are to be sent to the republic of Plato, or to M. More's Utopia, either there to live with themselves, or else where none may live to offend them. With what measure ye mete to others, the same shall be meted again to you, saith the voice of justice, Luke vi. But here speaketh the voice of mercy and desireth you, that as God hath measured unto you, so ye will measure to others. He is reconciled, as you see, unto you, be you reconciled now, one to another. And if his reconcilement be eternal, and in great matters, and for great offences, little can ye do if in little trifles one of you will not bear with another.

But, peradventure, some will object and say, Sir, you preach much of reconciliation and agreement to be between

God and us, and that he hath received us to his perpetual love and favour; but what reconciliation this is you speak of, I cannot tell. This I know, that I find here misery and sorrow enough; I sweat, I travail, I cark and care. Of the sour bread of heaviness, and bitter drink of adversity, I lack no store; turmoiled in troubles, pinched with poverty, afflicted in conscience, burdened with sins, vexed with temptations. Satan assaulteth me, hell feareth me, God's judgment accuseth me, sickness oppresseth me, and at last death consumeth me to dust and nothing. And where then is this favour and love of God toward me, when I feel nothing here but the wrath of God upon me?

To answer hereunto—I grant, well beloved, that this is a sore objection indeed to flesh and blood, being not yet perfectly instructed in the knowledge and consideration of Christ's kingdom. Wherein you have need of two manner of helps, whereof the one is in your preachers, the other is in yourselves. First and especially, you preachers had need here to help in setting forth the promises and glory of Christ's kingdom, whereby your hearers may be established in the faith of his word, and assured in hope of things to come. For else, great and manifold are the causes of discomfort daily rising, enough to beat down a man's heart from hope of heavenly things; the sense of contrary things is strong in this world, and flesh in us is feeble. Besides this, the devil ceaseth not, hell gapeth, death rageth, conscience accuseth, the law threateneth, God's justice terrifieth, his punishments and rods walk still from one to another. Every day lightly bringeth some example, some spectacle or other of God's terrible judgments before our faces. Here now the heart of man lieth in great perplexity, comfortless and distressed on every side, scarce able to take any breath of comfort, nor knowing well near whither to turn him, unless you which are preachers and spiritual physicians of the soul, minister to the weak conscience of man some comfortative, or some cordial restorative out of God's mighty promises, and heavenly message of Christ's holy gospel. Help, therefore, I beseech you, in opening to the people the promises of grace, the word of life, the glorious treasures and abundant riches, not of this present world here, but laid up for us hereafter in Christ to come. So that the faith of the people being grounded upon the sure rock of God's word and promises, may stand firm and unmovable against all blasts of worldly temptations, waiting

with hope for things, not here seen, but only hoped for, and shall be seen hereafter. And thus much for the ministers of Christ's gospel.

Again, for you that are the hearers, it is also your part no less to give diligent hearing unto your preachers, and hearken to the word of God, whereby you may learn to know the difference between things here present, and things to come; between the world which here standeth, and the world which hereafter followeth; between the kingdom of this world, and the kingdom of Christ. Many there are, who, beholding the course of things here present, and setting all their delight and study therein, have their eyes fixed upon nothing else, being either so blind that they see not, or else so wilful that they pass not for things that are to come; but say, either with the foolish atheist in the psalm, There is no God; or else with the fleshly epicure say, as they were wont in the time of Nazianzen, Give me that which is here present, and let God alone with that is to come, &c. These wretched persons are both deceived.

But they that are true christians, and have regard to their souls, must learn by their preachers, and understand by the scriptures, that besides this life, besides this world, this kingdom, these things here present, there are other things and much greater things; another life, another kingdom, another world to be looked for. Which two worlds or kingdoms, as they are contrary in effect and working, so the times of them must be distincted. For as the law hath his time, so hath grace his time also; and as death hath his time to reign here, so hath life his time to reign likewise; and as wrath hath his working yet awhile, so reconciliation shall have his time to work hereafter. So that in this world remaineth troubles, vexations, toil, labour, misery, calamity, afflictions inward, afflictions outward, the body subject to sickness, the soul to temptations, the flesh to death, the law yet standing in his force; the same penalty of sin pronounced against Adam still taketh hold upon us. Briefly, the nature of every thing in the same order, and under the same malediction wherein Adam left it, still continueth, and shall continue, touching this outward body, so long as our old Adam liveth. Look for none other in this world, so persuading yourselves that as there hath been none heretofore, so is there none of you all here present but away he shall, die he shall, and shall taste corruption.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the christian man, albeit his case in this body be miserable, under wrath and punishment, death and malediction, yet is it true, that as he is under death, so is he also under life; as he is under wrath, so is he also under reconciliation; both under the law and under grace, under misery and yet in felicity. And this distinction of times is good for every christian man to consider, which distinction is this: The wrath of God for sin towards his elect continueth but a time, his favour and reconciliation remaineth for ever; his punishments here are temporal, his promises are eternal. Over night cometh mourning, but in the morning riseth mirth; our going out is with tears, but our return again into Zion is with everlasting joy upon our heads, Isa. xxxv. Sin here reigneth, conscience accuseth, the law condemneth, death executeth, the devil rageth. Thus the state of man here is miserable, but the time of this misery lasteth not, but is limited and barred.

This bar that cutteth off the time of these miseries is the passion of Christ our Saviour, who hath purchased for us a new life after this, a new world after this world, a new kingdom, a new country, new possessions, new mansions, and all things new, not as they were before, but after a much better sort. Wherefore we, having and holding these promises of God, and hope of things to come, may comfort our souls and rejoice in God's favour, not passing for this world, whether it give prosperity or adversity. If adversity come, let faith hold hope, let hope work patience. With this hope Christ suffered the cross, and so entered into his glory. With this hope Paul, with all the apostles, sustained tribulations and rejoiced in afflictions. Through the same hope so many holy martyrs endured torments of death: and this may be called man's passover. Even so let us also pass over the rough waves of this world, neither being dejected by adversity, nor yet puffed up with prosperity; as men whom neither the evils of the world can make worse, nor the goods of the world can make better. Whatsoever, therefore, shall betide us in this world, and though we are corrected here for our sins, (as happeneth most commonly to the elect,) let us not measure the state of our election thereby, nor think therefore to be cast out of favour, or the league of our reconcilement to be broken, remembering what the scripture foretelleth us; saying, If they shall transgress my precepts, with rods and scourges I

will visit their iniquities; but my mercy I will never remove away from them, &c. Ps. lxxxix. So long as we carry this old Adam about, the penalty of Adam followeth us, that is, we remain under wretchedness, sin, curse of the law, death, and under the dominion of Satan. But yet, all this notwithstanding, we have a helper above them all, who, when these have done all they can and the worst they can, when sin hath accused, the law hath condemned, death hath stricken us down, our graves have swallowed us, and the devil hath showed his utmost malice against us, then cometh he, and where these have ended there he beginneth to work and show forth the power of his kingdom to justify the sinner, to discharge the law, to revive the dead, to vanquish the devil, to wipe all tears away, turning death to life, mortality to immortality, darkness to light, mourning to mirth, sadness to solace; briefly, to make all things new of nothing, according to the operation of his power, wherewith he is able to subdue all things to himself, Phil. iii.

Thus, therefore, pondering well the difference between this present world and the world that is hid in Christ, let us not regard so much what we are, but what we shall be; not what we have here, but what we shall have; considering with ourselves that the things which we look for are yet to come, and all that Christ died for is yet to come, and belongeth not to this world. For the end of Christ's passion was, not to make us rich in this earth, that we should become lords, ladies, or princes here; that we should be made honourable men, noble men, worshipful or gentlemen, or that we should abound in wealth and pleasures of this world. Which of us all, either here present or absent, that believe in the passion of Christ, doth flourish thereby any whit more in worldly prosperity, or is advanced in worldly glory, is richer in substance, stronger in body, more beautiful of person, more witty in policy, more prudent in his generation, or hath a penny more possessions, for all the blessed passion of Christ our Saviour? No, no; the matters that he died for are to come; they are not here. My kingdom, saith Christ, is not of this world. Where is it then? It is in the world to come. There is our kingdom, our country and city, our occupying, all our stock and store lieth there. This world here present, which we make so much of, is none of ours, nor worthy to be made much of. The world passeth away, saith the loving apostle, with all its concupiscence, 1 John ii. Also St. Paul, though not

in the same words, yet agreeing in the same sense, saith, The figure of this world passeth or vanisheth away, &c. 1 Cor. vii., meaning by this figure, the pomp, pride, and glory of the world; the vanity, wealth, felicity, bravery, and jollity in this earth and in earthly things; with dalliance, pastime, eating, drinking, and all other sensual delights and desires serving to carnal appetite; riches, high titles, preferments, authority, activity, policy, worldly gifts and ornaments; beauty, strength, long life, with such other like things, which carnal reason of man so highly esteemeth and magnifieth in this world. All which things, as St. Paul here calleth transitory, so in another place, writing to the said Corinthians, he accounteth them as old things, as though we would call it a former world; not as now departing and fading away, but as a thing past away already, clean gone and despatched. The old things are past and despatched, behold, saith he, all things are made new, 2 Cor. v. And what new things are these? New heaven, new earth, a new world, new life, new bodies, new minds, new possessions, new mansions, new treasures, and all things new, bran new; such as neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath ever heard of before. And all these, he saith not, shall be made new, but that they are made new already; although not yet visibly revealed to our outward sight, yet are they manifestly apparent to the spiritual eyes of our faith, in the scriptures and promises of God. And though we do not yet corporeally possess them as we shall hereafter, yet are they so sure as if they were in our hands already. Or, rather, why may I not say that we have them, and have entered corporeal possession, seeing our agent and factor is there, and hath taken possession for us? And if our Head be there already, how can it be but the body must follow after? And if Christ be the first-born of the dead, where ever was there a first but there must needs be a second? Christ is first risen from the dead, so sure is it that we shall rise also.

And thus by occasion touching the times and difference of these two worlds and kingdoms, which belongeth to every christian man necessarily to consider; to the intent that no man either be too much discouraged with the perturbations of this life, if adversity come, nor yet too much puffed up with these vain and transitory trifles, if he live in prosperity. Which are two perilous rocks, and many make shipwreck thereat. For so commonly it fareth with the

most sort of men, that if any scourge of God's hand fall upon us, we weep and wail as though there were none other hell. And if we flourish awhile in any wealth, we laugh and sing as though there were no other heaven, yea, and almost care for no other life. But we that are christians are taught by the scriptures another lesson, whether we are in weal or woe, to turn our minds from the consideration of things here present; and to cheer up our hearts with the expectation of higher things, of better things, of eternal things, of things to come, and therein to occupy our studies and exercise our senses, not passing for the old and dead things of this world, which, as St. Paul saith, are past already. And what should men pass then for things that are past? What should we care for things that are conquered? Care ye not, saith Christ, behold, I have overcome the world, &c. Or, what should we regard things that are none of ours? For what have we to do with the world which are redeemed out of the world? These things, therefore, of the world, let us leave to the Turks, Jews, infidels, and pagans, and if ye will, also to the papists, which are of the world. This world is none of ours, let them have it to whom it belongeth. Our kingdom is there where our King is; our country where our Head is; our city where our freedom standeth. Seeing, therefore, we are here but strangers, let us pass forward as strangers through the desert of this desolate world. What! should we travellers take long rest in our inns? And though it should befall unto us, as it happened to the Israelites, to lay our bones here, as they did in the desert, yet let us hold fast the hope of the promised land in the generation to come, which I trust in Christ, well beloved, doth approach apace. And though as yet we have not bodily entered into it, yet with the eyes of our faith let us look about us, and upward at the things which are above, and behold the glory of them at least afar off. So shall we lightly shake off the love and lust of this transitory and conquered desert.

And herein the better to help you to some sight thereof, let me desire you, with Moses, a little to climb up the hill of Nebo, mentioned Deut. xxxiv. There may ye take a view of this your spiritual country and glorious kingdom whereof I preach unto you. There shall ye see your factor and agent above mentioned, Christ Jesus, taking possession for you in heaven; yea, and which is more than all that can be most, passing all admiration, there shall ye see this

our own flesh, our own very flesh, sitting at the right hand of the almighty majesty of God. There shall you see our noble and triumphant captain Joshua, our Saviour Jesus, with his priests and levites, and his people following him, seven times going about the city Jericho, with trumpets of jubilee in their hands. And I doubt not but he hath gone six times about already, and when the seventh blast shall come, then beware, great Jericho! Then shall ye see the walls of this world fall down; then shall ye see the rich men of this world, with their bags of gold and silver, come tumbling down. Then shall ye behold the stout giants of this earth, the sons of Anak, brought full low. Their gay houses, their princely palaces, come rattling down; the tall trees of Libanus, the mighty oaks of Basan, the high turrets with their defenced munitions, the fair ships of Tarshish, and whatsoever is beautiful and comely in the sight of this world. Add to this the outgrown hose of England come tumbling over and over; every high mountain brought down, and low valleys exalted, Isa. ii. xl.

Moreover, there ye shall see the roaring lion, the venomous serpent and old dragon, the devil, which hath kept such a stir here so long, with all his hellish rabble of bloody persecutors; also with the great Turk, and the great caliph of Damascus, with the great caliph also of ancient Rome,* and all other cruel tyrants and potentates of this world, which have abused their swords to the destruction of Christ's saints, fall headlong into the perpetual pit of perdition. The law shall cease; death shall be destroyed; sin, hell, malediction, with all other enemies which wrought us woe before, shall be vanquished. Briefly, there shall ye see the whole world, with all his pomp and pride, with adulterers, fornicators, usurers, and covetous persons, dwelling in sinful Jericho, with all their force and puissance broken down to dust; only the house of Rahab standing safe; that is, those penitent sinners which receive God's message, and repent their sins, shall be preserved from the ruin.

Over and besides all this, yet one other sight I will declare to you which will do you good to behold. For there ye shall see the proud triple-crowned bishop, even the great antichrist, and the false horned lamb, which hath so exalted himself above God and his Son, with his high

* The emperor of Germany.

mountain castle of St. Angelo; also with his whole college of Babylonical strumpets and stately prelates of Romish Jericho, drunken with the blood of persecution, blown down with the blast of Joshua's trumpets, and with the breath of his mouth, even from the top of the capitol even unto hell. And there shall the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, all together, be tumbled into the lake of fire; that as they have kindled up the fire of persecution in this world, to burn up the bodies of Christ's people, so they shall have fire and brimstone to the full, where the smoke of their torments shall rise up for ever and ever. Rev. xiv. xx.

And as these things shall fall upon Christ's enemies, contemners of his gospel, in such sort as the sun and moon shall stand still while Joshua, our valiant Captain, shall vanquish thirty-one kings, with all the glory of their worldly kingdoms; so, on the contrary side, ye shall see the true christian Israelites divide amongst them great spoils of all their lands and possessions. There shall ye see new Jerusalem, the heavenly metropolitan city, all garnished with glory, like a spousess prepared for her spouse, with glorious mansions, and pleasant tabernacles in it, prepared ready to receive you; even such tabernacles as Peter wished in the mount Tabor to be made, when he was rapt with glory, that he could not tell where he was, nor what he spake, Luke ix. Briefly, in that mount Nebo ye shall see what eye never saw; paradise without any serpent to tempt you any more, riches without measure, glory without comparison, life without death, day without night, liberty without thraldom, solace without ceasing, joy without ending, a land flowing with milk and honey. And here, to make an end of speaking of those things which are endless, looking in this mount well about you, ye shall see with your spiritual eye, that which Daniel with his prophetical eye did see so long before; That the kingdom, the power, and magnitude of the kingdom, that is or shall be under heaven, shall be given to the people of the highest, which kingdom shall destroy all other kingdoms, and this kingdom shall be everlasting. Dan. vii. To the which kingdom, the eternal God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is true in his promises, and glorious in all his works; both happily and speedily conduct us, through the merits of Christ Jesus, his Son and our everlasting Saviour. Amen.

And here an end of the first part of this my text which I have read to you out of St. Paul. Wherein hath been declared unto you the gracious and joyful message sent of God, in the name of Christ, by his apostles, messengers, and ministers unto you. By the which message ye have heard how Almighty God not only is reconciled to you, but also how lovingly he entreateth you to be reconciled unto him. Further, what this reconciliation of God is, how firm it standeth and perpetual, what went before it, what variance there was between him and us, and how this variance was reconciled, and God's wrath pacified by one oblation once done for ever; moreover what things follow after this reconciliation, with the golden chain and principal points of our salvation depending upon the same; and finally, how far the time of the law and of wrath lasteth, and when the time of grace beginneth: what difference is between these two times; and how a christian is both under wrath, and also under reconciliation in divers respects; of the outward man first, and then of the inward man; with other things not unworthy to be mused upon, partly is set forth in this former part unto you.

Now let us pray, as we first began, making our earnest invocation to Almighty God, for the universal state of Christ's Church, and all other estates and degrees in order particular, as custom, and also duty requireth, &c.

The Second Part of the Sermon.

In the former part of this Good-Friday's sermon, ye heard, loving audience, according to my weak ability, uttered unto you, the joyful message of God's reconciled favour and grace recovered again, which we had once lost through our just deserts; and were under wrath, in great danger perpetually to be cast away, both bodies and souls. But so it pleased the gracious goodness of our merciful God, mercifully to receive us again to love, and to become now of a terrible justicer,* a tender Father towards us. Not that there is any change or alteration in his nature, but that mercy and justice striving together, mercy got the upper hand. Or rather, that mercy and justice joining together for our redemption, hath brought to pass, that, upon merciful causes going before, the just effect of God's wrath, which the law before did work, by good justice must needs give place, and reconciliation come in; because that justice, always standing upon just causes, it must needs follow that the cause being altered and removed away, the effect also must needs cease. So long as we were under the law and sin, so long were we under wrath, that is under God's just punishment for sin. For the law, as St Paul saith, worketh wrath. But after that mercy and justice, joining both together, have vanquished the law, that is, the curse of the law, now then by good order of justice followeth reconciliation; and yet no nature in God is changed, but his marvellous wisdom excellently declared.

Now what causes these were, and how they wrought, and how mercy and justice together conjoined in putting away the law and sin, consequently here remaineth in the second and latter parcel of this my text to be opened by Christ's help unto you. Now therefore let us read out the words of the apostle, which follow:—

For Him that knew no sin, God made to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God by Him, &c.

Here now cometh the preaching of Christ Jesus crucified; of whom you have often heard, and yet never heard enough; of whom many have preached, and yet never was preacher able to search or reach the length, breadth, and

* Judge.

profundity of his cross. In which cross I find two things most contrary concur together, the vilest death, and the most glorious person that ever suffered. What thing so miserable as death? What thing so happy as life? Again what death so vile as the death of the cross? What person so glorious as the only begotten Son of the living God? Which two things being so contrary, meet together in one tree, according as we read in Prudentius's hymn :—" Death and life have conflicted together in wondrous combat." Such a hard matter it was, and such a high price, to repair again the reconcilement between God and us. Touching the tractation of the which matter, as entering now into a new sermon and a new division, three principal things we have in this for you to consider, and me to speak of.

The first is, The great innocency that was in Christ, which we have to note in these words, *For him that knew no sin.*

Secondly, The grievous passion and punishment laid upon Christ for our sin, which followeth in these words, *God made him to be sin for us.*

The third is, The triumph of Christ, with other effects which followed after his passion, expressed in these words, *That we might be made the righteousness of God by him.*

1. Of the innocency of Christ, the scriptures in sundry places give witness by many ways, as well by prophetical types and shadows, as also by other evident demonstrations. Noah, the perfect man and righteous preacher in the first age of the world, in whose righteousness and in whose ark the remnant of all earthly creatures were saved from the flood; what doth he preach unto us besides the true history, but this just and innocent Jesus, Saviour of the world? Gen. vi. vii. The typical lamb, called the pass-over, which prefigured the heavenly Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, was commanded to be a male of a year old, immaculate, without spot or blemish. Also all other burnt-offerings were commanded in the old law to be pure and unspotted, for no other cause but only to signify that Christ, whereof they were figures and signs, should be the true innocent sacrifice, which should make and hath made satisfaction for all our sins. Isaiah prophesying of the innocency of this spotless sacrifice crucified for us, expresseth that which St. Paul here preacheth, and saith in plain words that He never knew iniquity, nor that any fraud was found in his mouth, Isa. liii. And again, the

same prophet describing the flower rising out of the root of Jesse, replenished with God's Holy Spirit, addeth moreover, And righteousness shall be his girdle about his loins, &c. Isa. xi. Jeremiah calleth his name, The bud of righteousness, and our righteous Lord, &c. Jer. xxxiii. In Daniel he is called, The Holy One of all holy, Dan. ix. Zechariah also, prophesying of this righteous Prince, Behold, saith he, thy King shall come to thee, righteous, and a Saviour, being humble, and sitting upon a poor ass, &c. Zech. ix. Many other places there are in holy scripture, which testify of the righteousness, holiness, and innocency of this immaculate person, of whom it is written, Which of you can rebuke me of sin? Against whom also we read, that the prince of the world came, and found in him nothing, as St. John writeth, John xiv. meaning thereby his innocency to be such, and the perfection of his life so absolute, that no creature could stain or charge him with blot or blemish. So absolutely he performed the law, and every jot thereof, both the first table and the second, in loving God above all things, and his neighbour as himself, that neither was there lacking in him any thing that the law required, nor ever was found any else able to accomplish the same law, besides himself alone. For so it behoved him, which should die for all, to be holy and innocent alone, and none but he, according as we read and sing in the hymn of Ambrose, Thou only art holy, &c. And so he was and is, and none else holy and innocent in the world but he.

And therefore, false is the doctrine of those untrue catholics, who, disputing of keeping the law of God, seem to extol the entire natural powers of man, so far as though it were in man's power and will to satisfy the performance thereof. In which number is Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Anselmus, Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales. Albeit these, as they do not fully agree in all places with themselves, so because they would seem somewhat to start from the error of Pelagius, they add, moreover, some addition of God's grace to help free will; and so flying from one error fall into another, teaching that a man in this life, being once justified, may fulfil God's law and avoid all sin. After these cometh John Scotus; who, reasoning upon these words of St. Augustine, that a man without grace cannot eschew all sin, &c. seemeth to resolve the question thus, that a man, by free will, without grace cannot eschew

or cease from all sin, but severally may eschew this sin or that sin, and so every particular sin one after another; and bringeth this similitude, of one being in a vessel full of rifles or holes, in which although he can stop one hole after another, yet cannot stop them all; for while he stoppeth one, saith he, another is open, &c. Thomas Aquinas, likewise reciting the sentence of the schoolmen, saith, that the power of man's will, of itself, is able to do things both good and bad without grace. Howbeit he cannot make the work that is good to merit, but by the help of grace itself, &c. So that hereby appeareth the opinion of these catholics to be, that albeit man's free power without grace sufficeth not to eschew all sin, nor to make his good works to be meritorious; yet being assisted with grace, he is able in this life to avoid all and every kind of sin, and to fulfil the righteousness of God's law. Insomuch that Scotus in another place thus reasoneth; that it is not uncredible but that many such are in the church, which live the whole year without mortal sin; yea, and by God's grace many are which much longer time keep themselves from deadly sin, and exercise moreover many works of perfection, of whose merits riseth the treasure-house of the church, &c. Scot. lib. 4. dist. 17.

Furthermore, after these followed others of later years, as Eckius, Pighius, Hosius, and others, upon whose untidy reasons and arguments, certain of our English papists also grounding their vain opinion, do likewise teach now in these our days, that it lieth in possibility here in this life for a man after he is justified, to fulfil the righteousness of the law by grace, and to avoid all mortal sin; that is to mean, that such abundance of grace and power is given of God, here, in this life, to them that are baptized in Christ, and call for God's grace, that although for venial sins he may say in humility and in truth, Forgive us our trespasses, &c. yet as touching mortal sins, he may so live, calling for that grace, that he need not, except he will, to fall into deadly sin, but may satisfy the law of God fully and perfectly, in such sort as the same law of God cannot have wherein to condemn or accuse any work of his, &c. For these are their own very words.

First, for confirmation of their doctrine, they allege the testimonies of Augustine, where he saith, that God neither could command things that were impossible, because he is

just; nor would condemn man for that he could not avoid, &c. and addeth in another place, saying that God would never condemn the slothful servant, if he had commanded that he could not achieve. Also in his book, De Natura et Gratia, "We firmly believe," saith he, "that God, who is just and good, could never command things that were impossible to be done," &c. Secondly, out of Jerome they allege this place where he saith, We detest their blasphemy, which say, that God hath commanded any thing impossible to be done, &c. Thirdly, they allege further the words of our Saviour, Take my yoke upon you; for my yoke is sweet, and my burden light, &c. Matt. xi. Fourthly, also for example they infer Zacharias and Elizabeth, who in scripture are said to be just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord without blame, &c. Luke i.

Whereunto briefly I answer; and first, as touching St. Augustine, albeit I could well answer him by his own retractations, where he better advising himself, as may appear, hath these words, All the commandments, saith he, are accounted to be done, when that is pardoned which is not done, &c. And likewise might I expound Jerome by Jerome, whereas he in another place speaking of the commandments to be possible, though he denieth it not to be true, yet he asketh how that saying is to be understood; meaning that although the commandments are possible to us after a certain manner, yet absolutely and simply he doth not so affirm. Well, and what if this were granted, that God hath given a law to man which man cannot keep, what great thing were here to be detested, or what prejudice hereby should ensue either to God's justice or goodness in giving a law impossible for us perfectly to be kept, more than in giving us the sun, the brightness whereof it is impossible for us to behold, and yet to walk in the light thereof every man as he may? If a cunning physician should come with an excellent potion to his patient grievously sick, and say, Either ye must drink this, or ye cannot live; and if the weak stomach of the party cannot brook it, yet is the physician nothing to blame, but keepeth the true order of physic. Scilurus Scytha, when he gave his children every one a fagot, commanding them to break it, knew right well before, that they were not able to do it, and yet in so doing did he both fatherly and wisely, to the

intent his children might learn thereby to see their own weakness, and not to trust to their own private strength too much.

But to let this hold go, let us come more near to close with our adversaries in this matter, and with all the parts thereof more attently.

If we, by grace helping us, say they, are not able to perform fully and perfectly the righteousness of the law, then were God unjust in commanding things impossible; and unmerciful in condemning the servant for that which he cannot avoid. But that were detestable blasphemy to say. Therefore, say they, it must needs be concluded that it is not impossible for a justified man, by God's grace to perform the perfect fulfilling of the law.

Whereunto I answer by the scriptures, that if God had given such a law to be fulfilled of man which no man could fulfil, and that all men for not fulfilling the same should be condemned, then might they with some reason object this blasphemy unto us. But now we confess and say, that God hath given a law to be fulfilled of man, and that he commandeth nothing impossible. Yea, and furthermore, with the scriptures, confess that man hath fulfilled this law actually, really, and thoroughly in all points; and yet all this being confessed, neither is it true which they infer, that the justified man therefore is able by grace to fulfil the real perfection of the law; neither is it true that he which fulfilleth it not, shall therefore be condemned; neither that in God is any unrighteousness or unmercifulness in all this to be inferred, but he remaineth still most just and merciful. Yea, and to say truth, his mercy and justice could not otherwise both stand and appear together, but only by this way above confessed. And how is all this proved?

First, that God hath given a law to be fulfilled, we all confess. Secondly, that Christ from the beginning, before the law was given, was preordinate to be incarnate and to take our nature, no man can deny. Thirdly, that the same Christ in the same our nature hath utterly fulfilled and discharged the law, it is manifest. And how then is that to be accounted impossible to man, which man so clearly hath accomplished? Fourthly, that in the same nature and humanity of Christ, the Son of God and the son of man, the whole nature of mankind is included, the scripture teacheth; and therefore is he called the second Adam.

For as all we were included in the nature of Adam, who first disobeyed, and by him are condemned, so are we likewise generally included in the human nature of this second Adam which first obeyed, and by him saved. So that we, being now in Christ, that is to say, God beholding our whole nature in the nature of his own Son, his fulfilling is our fulfilling, and what he doth, that we do, especially in all such points as belong to his humanity. And therefore is he denominated in scripture to be our righteousness. For as this proposition is true, Christ died for all men; so is this proposition true also, Christ was made innocent for us all. So that what he hath fulfilled, we also have fulfilled, although not after the same manner, yet in as good effect as if it had been done after the same manner. He for us, we by him; he actually performed, we by imputation; he by virtue and merit, we by gift and grace. And this is the perfect grace that we have to fulfil the perfection of the law. Other grace than this God never gave, nor ever will give to any justified person really and absolutely to satisfy the perfect righteousness of the law. Neither doth it stand with the glory of Christ, that any such perfect grace should be given us. For, if by our infirmity the strength of Christ be made perfect, as Christ himself answereth to St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. so contrariwise, by our perfection the virtue of Christ's cross is lessened. Not that there is any such perfection in us indeed, whose righteousness, as St. Augustine saith, consists more in the remission of sins than in the perfection of virtues; but such is the blindness of many, that, standing in a vain persuasion of their perfection when they are imperfect, they falsely flatter themselves to be something, when indeed they are stark nothing; and after the example of the Laodiceans imagine themselves to be rich and gay, when indeed they be utterly empty and naked. Rev. iii. Fifthly, And though it be so, as it is indeed, that no such grace is given to us from above to attain to the high perfection of the law; yet, notwithstanding, by the grace of God we bring to the law such obedience as we may. And though we bring not that perfection of fulfilling the law, which needeth no remission, yet we bring that endeavour of well doing, which the Lord, for faith's sake, both accepteth in us, and also crowneth. And as for that imperfection which remaineth, God imputed not for his Christ, who hath purchased for us perpetual reconciliation

and remission of sins. Sixthly, By these hitherto declared, it appeareth that although we, for our parts, neither by nature, nor by grace, can possibly satisfy the full innocency of the law, yet neither is it true which our adversaries do infer, speaking absolutely, that God hath commanded things impossible to man. For so much as man hath utterly discharged whatsoever God hath commanded, how then can the commandments be said to be impossible to man, which man hath fulfilled? And though we, for our parts, speaking particularly, cannot perform the same, yet that argueth neither blasphemy to be in us, to say we cannot fulfil the commandments, nor any unrighteousness or unmercifulness in God, in giving that which we cannot perform. For as we acknowledge God to be just in giving the law, to declare thereby what we should be; so we have to acknowledge doubly, and to thank his mercy, first for giving such a person unto us who hath satisfied the law for us; and also in not condemning us for our parts not fulfilling it ourselves; but hath set in the church a perpetual remedy, which is, remission of sins to help and supply that which lacketh in us. Whereby, as our adversaries may see, neither is there any unmercifulness in God, nor blasphemy in us; so we may see in their doctrine to be no truth. Seventhly and lastly, Forsomuch as the Council of Trent, and all our adversaries, stand so much upon this argument; that the law is not impossible to be performed of us, because God hath given it unto us, who of his justice cannot command things impossible; here, therefore, is to be noted out of the scriptures, that they seem not sufficiently hitherto to have considered the first original and entering of the law. Which law, I mean the law of nature, imprinted in the soul and conscience of every mortal man, (for as touching the law of Moses written in outward tables, which is but a renewing of the law wrought in man before, we speak not,) entered first into the world, not so much by the voluntary purpose and will of God, speaking of the ordinary will of God revealed in the scriptures, as it was procured and enforced by man himself against God's will and warning. For when man in paradise was in state of innocency, he was not obediently content with that felicity wherein he was, but disobediently would needs extend his hand to the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And albeit Almighty God gave him sufficient warning before what danger would follow, yet he, of wilful presumption, would

taste of the fruit forbidden. Which being done, then began his eyes to be open; then did he see, then did he know, and then began he to cover himself. Now, if the law of nature did not first enter with this knowledge into the world, let the adversaries themselves tell me when it began to enter. If it did, then let them answer how the law first was given, whether by God's own free motion and mere doing, or else by man's own seeking and procurement. To conclude, therefore, if man procured the law upon his own head, which, when he had done, he was not able to perform, then let us not say that God gave a law to man, which man could not fulfil; but let us say, that man's own wilfulness procured a law to himself, which afterwards was not in his possibility to accomplish. But of this enough. The rest I refer to the exercised spiritual christian to muse more upon.

Furthermore, as touching their allegation of Christ's words, Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is sweet, and my burden is light, &c. by which words they argue the commandments of God to be easy and possible to be kept. I answer, that these words of Christ mean not the law of Moses, but are to be understood of the receiving of Christ to be our Messias and Saviour, and that we should become subjects under his kingdom, that is, to believe in him, and to be his disciples; who, in so doing, shall find his yoke and our subjection under him to be pleasant and sweet. For there shall we have remission of all our sins, shall overcome the devil and the world, shall be free from death, shall be eased from ceremonies, shall be raised in the resurrection to everlasting life, and in the mean time shall taste the sweet comforts of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, &c.

Again, where they allege the example of Zacharias and Elizabeth, whom the scripture commendeth, to be both just before God, and to walk in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord, &c. Luke i. To this I could answer thus, that if Zacharias and Elizabeth were both just before God, it was not because God could not, but because he would not find fault with them. But let mine own answer go, I will set St. Jerome to answer hereunto; where he declareth two manner of perfections to be in holy scriptures; one which is agreeable to the virtues of God, and is void of all sin and immutable. And this, saith he, is appropriate only unto God, and was here declared in Christ. The

other which agreeth to our fragility and is not pure from all sin, and is called perfect, not by comparison to God's justice, but so accounted in the knowledge of God, who seeth the good endeavour of the frail creature, and accepteth the same; and in the same place produceth this example both of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and also of Job. The like answer also may be gathered out of St. Augustine, who, speaking of the worthiness which is in just men here, saith that it may be called perfect, so far as they both truly acknowledge, and humbly confess, their own imperfection going withal, &c. So that of the righteousness of Zacharias we may say as St. Paul said, by the righteousness of Abraham, That if he have any thing to glory, he hath to glory with men, but not with God, Rom. iv. In whose judgment, saith David, no flesh shall be justified, &c. Psal. cxliii. only the flesh of the Son of God excepted, who only being just, died for the unjust, as St. Peter witnesseth. Whereupon I ground this reason:—Christ died for the unjust; Zacharias and Elizabeth were not unjust before God, as they say; therefore, Christ died not for them. Which is absurd to grant; so that rather this argument is to be holden from the contrary. Christ died for the unjust; Christ died for Zacharias and Elizabeth; therefore, Zacharias and Elizabeth were unjust, &c. Again, they that do the commandments, do live therein; Zacharias and Elizabeth lived not in the commandments, but died; therefore Zacharias and Elizabeth did not all the commandments so justly as they should.

Thus then the righteousness and innocency of man being overthrown, as ye have heard, let us now repair to our matter again, and seek true innocency where it is to be found, that is, in Christ only, and in no flesh else, whether it be justified or unjustified; whether before baptism, or after baptism; whether by grace with nature, or by nature without grace. For neither that nature is given, nor that grace dispensed to any man living in this flesh, to be found innocent by the law, save only to Him of whom it is written; God giveth not to him the Spirit after measure, &c. Let his innocency therefore stand alone, that he may be as he is, alone holy; not merely exceeding us by comparison of greater and less, but utterly confounding us for our unrighteousness, knowing what is written of us, There is none that doth good, no not one, &c. Psal. xiv. And here

also let the title of the "holy father,"* called "most holy," fall down for shame. Of His fulness then let us receive, not as men having somewhat, but as utterly empty of all goodness. Let us humble ourselves with confession of humility, so ascribing all righteousness unto Him, that we forget not what God speaketh of our righteousness by his prophet, saying, All our righteousness is like a beggarly patched piece of a defiled cloth, Isa. lxiv. Such are our works, not speaking only of our works before justification; but also even they that follow after justification, if God should look upon them in judgment, without Christ, are no better.

Of this innocency of Christ Jesus, the immaculate Lamb of God, I preach the more earnestly, and stand the longer, because in the same consisteth one of the principal effects of our redemption, joined with the effusion of his blood. For as his perfect innocency, without the shedding of his blood, could not serve our turn, so neither the death of his body, without his innocent life, could redeem us. For so it behoved innocency to redeem iniquity, the just to die for the unjust. Wherein appeareth the wondrous wisdom of God's almighty majesty in working our redemption. Who, seeing the generation of mankind fallen from so happy a state, wherein he was first created, into such a miserable decay and destruction, both of body and soul, and all through his own wilful presumption, in procuring the necessity of the law upon his own head, the strength whereof he could not accomplish, nor avoid the penalty; being subject thereby to the power of death and tyranny of Satan, wrapped in ignorance, drowned in darkness, running headlong to all idolatry and vanity, void of all regard and care of his Creator; whom neither counsel could reform, nor any earthly help restore, not only being past recovery, but almost past all possibility, but that nothing is impossible with God—he, I say, of his wisdom beholding, and of his mercy pitying this misery of man, found a singular way for man. What was that? He would not, saith Theodoret, of his absolute power work our deliverance; neither would he arm his mercy alone, to set us out of the thraldom of him which had the nature of man in captivity. No, no; mercy alone in this case could not well serve, his justice could not bear it. And why? The cause Theodoret showeth, lest if God's mercy had saved some and not all; the enemy which had been transgressor also himself,

* The pope.

might have quarrelled that this mercy of God had not been indifferent but partial to some, and not equal to all sinners. And therefore the high providence of Almighty God wrought another way, which was both full of mercy, and no less defenced with justice. So that by this way both his mercy is declared, his justice salved, Satan with the wicked justly condemned, the godly repentant, though they are sinners, saved, and all this done by true justice; and yet God not partial, and the same also merciful. And what way was this? Almighty God, seeing our nature overcome by a subtle serpent, too weak to encounter with that enemy, united two natures in one person, his nature and ours together, and so clothing God in man, sent forth this person to encounter with the devil, and by pure innocency of his manhood, to recover that for man which man before had lost.

Thus then cometh Christ our Lord to us, and for us to be incarnate, and was born of a virgin, his mother, after a miraculous manner; at whose birth the angels began to sing, and nature itself to be astonied. After this came the eighth day, in which he was circumcised according to the law, that by fulfilling the law he might redeem us from the bondage of the law. Not long after, being pursued by Herod, he was sent out of Jewry into Egypt, where he remained until they were dead that sought his life; to answer the type of Moses, who, before he should deliver the people, fled into the land of Midian from the hands of Pharaoh, where he remained till answer came from God, that he should return again into Egypt; for they are all dead, said he, that sought thy life, Exod. iv. After this, being of twelve years of age, he came to the temple, and there three days disputed with the doctors, who then were busy, no doubt, about the question of Messias; where he first began to show some little sparkle of his divinity, being occupied in the work of his Father. At length, growing up in years, he came to the age of thirty, or thereabout; when God began to reveal his Son more manifestly to the world in sending the Holy Spirit in visible similitude of a dove upon him, declaring moreover, in audible voice, the same to be his well-beloved Son, whom we must hear, Luke iii.

Thus Jesus, being baptized to fulfil all righteousness, revealed by his Father, replenished with the Holy Ghost, and testified by John Baptist, from thence was had immediately into the desert, as to a stage, there to try hand to

hand with the devil. Where after he had fasted forty days and forty nights, to fulfil the time of Moses's fast, who was so long in the mount with God, without meat or drink, the enemy, not ignorant what was testified of him before, and yet seeing him outwardly but as a weak man, and also now to wax hungry, after the infirmity of flesh, was the more bold to set upon him. And as he first threw down Adam in paradise by eating, so thinking likewise to supplant this second Adam by eating, tempted him to turn stones to bread, and so after an unlawful manner to eat. When this would not be, he invaded him with other sundry and grievous assaults, but in the end he could not prevail. Innocency held by obedience, obedience held by the word, Christ overcame, man had the victory, the devil had the foil, the angels bare witness, and the poor body of Jesus was refreshed.

This done and finished, Christ, to declare his divine power here in earth, to the end that men might know their Messias, coming from thence abroad began to work wonderful miracles, turning water into wine, feeding with few loaves thousands of men and children in the wilderness, helping the lame, curing of cripples, cleansing the lepers, restoring the blind to their sight, the deaf to their hearing, the dumb to their tongues; healing all diseases amongst the people, calming the seas, ceasing the winds, walking on the waters, comforting the afflicted, expelling out devils by his word, opening the graves, raising the dead, with other innumerable signs and wonders.

II. All which great and passing miracles notwithstanding, the cruel Jews yet ceased not to envy and malign him, and at last brought him to the torments of death, which he, with all patience, sustained. Wherein cometh now the second member of my division to entreat of the bitter pains of Christ's passion, which he for us suffered, for his own part most willingly; for their part most unjustly: for our salvation most happily; albeit for the manner of the handling to all good hearts most lamentably. Touching the manner and handling whereof, forsomuch as it is sufficiently recorded in the history of the four evangelists, I shall the less need to stand long in repeating those things, which to no christian man ought to be unknown. First, how the malicious priests and pharisees, after they had taken counsel together, and had sent with Judas their officers with clubs and staves, to apprehend Jesus; he, seeing them, asked

whom they sought; they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Twice he asked, twice they fell backward, and twice he suffered them to rise. Whereby appeareth what Christ could have done in saving himself if he would. For power in him there lacked not; cause for him to die there was not; as his life was innocent, so was there no law to condemn him. No, neither his Father, salving his justice, could lawfully enforce him. Only his own good will, and obedience to his Father's will it was, and none other. Whereof we hear what the Father himself speaketh by his prophet, saying, If he will lay down his life for sin, he shall see a long lasting seed come after him, &c. Isa. liii. Again, in the same prophet we read, He was offered because he himself so would, &c.

Then they took and bound him, and brought him first to Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas; who asked him of his doctrine and of his disciples; he answered, that he never taught in corners, but openly in the synagogue and in the temple, and therefore willed him to ask them that heard him. Whereat one of the high priest's servants, a parasite, a caitiff, a swashbuckler,* a rakehell, gave him a blow on the blessed cheek, asking if he answered the high priest so. To whom Christ again mildly and coolly answered, saying, If I have spoken ill, bear witness of the ill; but if I have spoken well why smitest thou me? From Annas he was sent bound to Caiaphas, where lying witness was brought against him, that he should speak against the temple. Whereunto Christ held his peace. Then was he asked and adjured to tell them true, whether he were Christ. To this he spake, If I answer you, neither will ye credit me; neither if I ask you, ye will answer me, nor let me go. But this I tell you, ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, &c. Upon this, after that the wretches had scorned, reviled, and beaten him about the head and face, and blindfolded him, bidding him prophesy who did smite him, they brought him then to the secular power, that is, to Pilate the temporal judge, in the guildhall. Where were laid many accusations against him, and never one true; that he was a seducer of the people, a teacher of new doctrine, and forbad tribute to be paid to Cæsar, and made himself a king. Pilate then, after certain questions, hearing that he was of Galilee, sent him over to Herod; who, thinking to hear some news, or

* A bully, a boasting fellow.

to see some strange miracle, was glad to have him. But when Christ would give him no answer, in derision he put him in a long white robe, and sent him again unto Pilate.

Then the priests and seniors of the people gathered themselves again in a great number, to accuse him before Pilate. To whose accusations, our blessed Saviour, holding his peace, gave no word to answer. Pilate, marvelling at his silence, and perceiving no cause in him worthy of death, and that all this proceeded of wilful malice, and also admonished of his wife to have nothing to do with him, sought means, what he might, to deliver him. And forsomuch as the manner was for the judge to give the Jews one of the prisoners toward the feast of Easter, he asked whether they would have Jesus or Barabbas the murderer. They required Barabbas to be delivered, crying, Crucify him, Crucify him, upon Jesus, the Son of the living God. And when Pilate asked them what he should do with their king, and said that he found no cause of death in him, they said, they would have no king but Cæsar, and if he let Jesus go, he was not Cæsar's friend. Whereupon, Pilate, for fear, seeing he could no otherwise do, called for water to wash his hands, and so gave Jesus to the will of the Jews. Who then took Jesus, and when they first had scourged his blessed body with as many stripes, ye may be sure, as the law would give, which were forty lacking one, then they took off his coat, and put upon him a scarlet pall,* platting a sharp crown of thorns upon his tender head, so that the blood came trickling down, and put a reed in his hand instead of a sceptre. Then began the cursed Jews again, some to smite him upon the head with a reed, some to spit upon him, some to mock and deride him, with scornful kneeling and blasphemous rebukes, jesting and scoffing at him, as the Philistines did at Samson the same day when he whelmed the whole house upon their heads, and slew them all, Judg. xvi. to fulfil the words of the prophet Isaiah, who saith, Upon whom have ye made your scorns and mocks? upon whom have ye opened your blasphemous mouths, and bleared out your tongues, you adulterous and sinful generation? Isa. lvii.

Thus, when the malicious multitude of the caitiffs had taken their pleasure upon him within the guildhall court, the soldiers then put off his purple attire, and arraying him again with his own coat, led him through the city,

* A Roman military cloak called pallium.

with his cross on his back, toward the mount of Calvary, till by the way his holy body fainting under the burden, they pressed one Simon of Cyrene to help him with the cross up the hill; and so, coming to the place of Calvary, called Golgotha, after they had nailed him hand and foot fast to the cross, they lifted him up between two thieves; one on the right hand, a blessed confessor, whose name we know not, we may call him saint thief; the other on the left hand, a blasphemous wretch.

When they had all this done, which the good counsel of the Lord had pre-ordained, yet the cankered Jews left him not, but still continued in their furious malice, staring at him, and railing upon him, with all kinds of scornful and opprobrious blasphemies, nodding their heads, and bidding him, Now come down from the cross and save thyself, thou that wouldest destroy the temple of God, and in three days build it again, &c. Thus spake they to fulfil the words of the psalm, saying, All they stared upon me and mocked me; they spake with their lips, and nodded their heads. And what spake they with their lips? He trusted in the Lord, now let him come and deliver him; let him now come and save him, if he do love him, and will have him, &c. Psa. xxii. For so spake the princes of the priests and seniors of the people, saying, Others he saved, but himself he cannot save. If he be the king of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe in him. While the Jews and the priests thus were scorning him, in the mean time, the soldiers which crucified him, drew lots for his coat, because it was seamless, and could not well be divided, to fulfil the rest of the Psalm that followed, saying, They parted my garments amongst them, and upon my coat they drew lots.

The pains and torments which this innocent Lamb of God sustained upon the cross were great, the rebukes and scorns which he underwent were greater; but especially that which he suffered in spirit and soul was greatest of all; when as he, not only in body decaying for weakness and bleeding, but also in soul fainting with anguish and discomfort, began to cry with a loud voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? seeming by these words to be in such a case as happeneth to God's children sometimes, thinking with themselves that God hath utterly left and forsaken them. Not that God did ever forsake his Son Christ, but this was the voice of his human nature, teaching

us not to think it strange, though our feeble heart do faint sometimes through despair or lack of present comfort, as happeneth many times even to the elect children of God.

After all this done, yet one thing lacked more to the fulfilling of the scriptures and finishing of his martyrdom, which in the sixty-ninth psalm was also prophesied of him in these words, They gave me gall for my meat, and when I was dry, they gave me vinegar to drink, &c. which here happened also. For, as Christ our Saviour, approaching now to his death, began to languish in body, and to call for drink, saying, I thirst, there was a vessel of vinegar not far off, wherewith they filled a sponge, and so putting it upon a reed, set it to his mouth to drink. So little courtesy did Christ our Lord find in his own country among the Jews, for all his so great miracles and benefits bestowed upon them, that in his thirst he could not obtain a cup of sweet water of them. So thirsty were they of his blood who was so thirsty of their salvation. Which bloody cruelty of theirs cost them afterward full dear; as in the story of their destruction, notoriously did appear to all the world. Thus, after the vinegar was offered him, and he tasted a little thereof, perceiving now all things to be finished, he said, All now is finished, and so it was. For, whatsoever was prefigured or prophesied in the scriptures before of his suffering was now accomplished. First, that he should be sold to the hands of his enemies. For, as Joseph was sold by Judas to the Egyptians, so was he to the pharisees. David was persecuted by his own children and servants, so was Christ. As David said, Let us depart hence, the same words spake Christ. That he should come sitting upon an ass, poor and humble; so did he. That his friends should all forsake him, so did his disciples. That he should be falsely accused; so was he. That he, should be scourged and wounded for our iniquities; it came to pass. The slaying of the Easter lamb declared that he should die an innocent at Easter; and so did he. The roasting of the lamb declared the hot judgment of God upon him for our sins; he felt no less. Samson was scorned and derided of his enemies, but what followed? Samson being thus derided, overthrew the house, and did more hurt to them, and profit to his people by his death, than by all his life before; even so did Christ. In Isaiah, it was prophesied of his beating about the face and cheeks; so it came to pass. In the Psalms, it was foreshowed of goring

his hands and his feet, of telling all his bones, of nodding their heads, of their opprobrious mocks, of dividing his garment, of giving him bitter vinegar. In Zechariah, it was prophesied that the day also should be darkened until evening; and so it was. All these things being now complete which belonged to the pains of his bitter passion, and that Christ our heavenly Saviour perceived now nothing to lack more to the fulfilling of our redemption, immediately upon the same commended his spirit to his Father's hands with a mighty cry, and so letting down his head, he gave up the ghost.

But before I come to this final closing up of his life, let us first hear and see, how Christ, thus hanging and silent upon the cross, beginneth his victory, to cast out the prince of this world, and what he saith unto him, though not in open speech, yet in effect of spirit, and power of his passion. For this we must understand, that the drift and purpose of Christ's death was not to fight with man, nor to wrestle against flesh and blood. No, no; rather he fought for man, and prayed for them that crucified him, saying, Father, forgive them; they know not what they do. His coming and wrestling was against them that were stronger than man, against the principalities and powers, and rulers of darkness of this world, against the spiritual subtle serpent, the old dragon the devil. Who, when he had done and ended his utmost tyranny and violence against him, then Christ the puissant conqueror, where the devil and the world had finished, there beginneth now to work, reasoning with the devil in this effect of words.

"Now art thou taken, thou foul fiend, and fastened in thine own snares. Thou proud Goliath, which thoughtest no man in all Israel able to match thee; now hast thou found in Israel a man after flesh, able not only to match thee, but also to overmatch thee, who with thine own sword shall strike off thine own head. Thou hast digged a pit, and hast fallen into it thyself, and that worthily. See whither thy wiliness joined with cruelty hath brought thee! So long hast thou raged and reigned, thou foul spirit, in the world, which hath been long under thy tyranny, in most miserable thraldom; not for any just empire thou hadst of thyself over them, but for their wretched sins, which deserved such a cruel tyranny to be set over them. Their wickedness made thee strong, not thy worthiness. Seeing they were not content at the first beginning to be

governed by their Creator which made them, he justly gave them such a governor as they deserved, to scourge and plague them for their unjust rebellion. And now, because thou hast had such dominion, and used such tyranny over them at thy pleasure, and none able hitherto to resist thee, thou thoughtest therefore to practise the like violence and tyranny upon my poor flesh also, and hast done what thou canst against me.

" First, after my birth, thou didst set Herod to persecute me ; thou temptedst me in the desert. What means afterward didst thou seek to trip and ensnare me ! Yet my time was not come. At length when the hour of darkness came, thou didst take and bind me, and set thy ban-dogs to bait me, false witnesses to accuse me, unjust judges to condemn me, thy ministers to scourge me, thy soldiers with this sharp garland to crown me, thy sycophants to scorn me, and after thou layedst this heavy cross upon my shoulders ; and not content with that, thou hast strained also my poor body upon the same, and nailed me fast both hand and foot. In these my torments and bitter pains I was dry, requiring a little drink, and thou gavest me vinegar. All this I take to be thy doing, and no one's else. For this people are but thy instruments and workmen ; thou art he that settest them on. Thou art the master of these revels, the ringleader of this dance, the captain of this crew. And as thou art the arch enemy to all mankind, so because thou seest me come in similitude of sinful flesh, thou art mine enemy also, and hast wrought me all this villany, bringing me to this cross, and making me a spectacle here to all the world. And yet, not satisfied with all this, after thou hast thus hailed and nailed me to this contumelious gibbet, now to make amends, in mockery thou biddest me come down if I can, and save myself. Yes, Satan, I can come down, and will come down and save myself. For that power have I, both to lay down my life and to take it again, and therefore I will save myself, but so as I may also save all mankind with me ; and not at thy pleasure I will do it, but in such order as the scriptures require ; for I come therefore, to fulfil the scriptures.

" And seeing all this is now fulfilled that belongeth to my passion, and that thou hast done what thy uttermost malice can ; now, where thou dost end, there will I begin to show what I will and can do. And forsomuch as thou hast thus fastened my body to this cross, I ask thee now,

Satan, what have I offended, or what cause hadst thou to do this unto me? Behold this body with all the members thereof; here is my mouth, what guile or blasphemy did ever pass these lips? My tongue, as it hath been ever talking of heavenly things, and preaching the will and message of my heavenly Father, ready to instruct and exhort all men, so what idle or angry word did it ever utter? When did it ever speak evil of any, or defame any creature, or flatter with the truth at any time? What concupiscence came ever in these eyes of mine, or lust into my heart? My hands, which have always been stretched forth to do all men good, thou hast here stretched upon the tree, and what have these hands ever committed? though I have been stricken, when did they ever offer to strike any? they have washed poor men's feet, they have touched and healed foul lepers; what harm have they done to any, either man or child? whose goods did they ever spoil? what bribe or bribes came ever between these fingers? My weary feet likewise thou hast nailed to the cross, which never stepped to any evil, nor walked in any wicked way; but always have been occupied, travelling in my Father's errand, and in my appointed vocation, ready to run and go, both day and night, to succour my neighbours, sparing no travel, from place to place, from city to city; to set forth God's glory, and call all men to the kingdom of life; continually labouring on foot, without easement either of horse or mule, save only a little before my passion, to fulfil the scriptures, I used the help of a poor ass to ease me into the city. From my feet go to my head, which thou hast so sharply pierced with a crown of thorns. What hath this head committed or devised that might turn either to the dishonour of God or disprofit of my neighbour? Briefly, from top to toe, what part findest thou in all my body that deserved thus to be handled? From my bodily parts go further to the inward motions and affections of the mind; search me both within and without. What pride, disdain, hate, envy, malice, hypocrisy, vain-glory, self-love, did ever stir in me? Did I not humble and debase myself always under all men? Examine my whole life to the precise law of God, and search me body and soul; if I have not in body and soul, honoured my Lord my God with body and soul, with all my heart, and my whole strength; if I have taken His name in vain; if I have not sanctified the sabbath-day; if I have not honoured my father and mother, obeying my

Father to the death, even to the death of the cross; if I have not ever loved my neighbour as myself, yea, better than myself; if I ever lusted after my neighbour's house, his wife, his ox, ass, or any thing he hath; if I have not ever done to others as I would be done to myself, &c.

"When thou temptedst me in the desert, did I give thee place? Have not I always resisted thee? Come, search, I say, and ransack my whole life, summon a parliament of all thy wicked spirits, call also thy scribes and pharisees unto thee; try and spy all my works, thoughts, cogitations, words, and doings. This I say to thee and to them all, Which of you all can charge me with any sin? Which if thou canst do, then mayest thou justly bring me to this confusion, and hold me in this death, for the reward of sinners by the law, is death. But if thou canst find no such thing in me, (as thou canst not,) wherein to charge me, either to do that was against the law, or God's law to command any jot which I have not fully observed; then is it no right, neither will I suffer either thee or death to hold that which belongeth not to you; but justly will deliver myself out of the thraldom of death, and not only myself, but also will deliver them out of prison of death, whom thou hast hitherto captived; and letting them out, thee only will I chain up in death and darkness, as a transgressor of God's holy law, because the law of God justly committeth to death them that are transgressors. The law saith, Thou shalt not kill, and he that striketh and killeth shall be guilty of judgment, &c. And here thou hast persecuted and laid hands upon me which am guiltless, and most unjustly hast shed innocent blood. See, Satan, whither thy greediness hath brought thee. So greedy wast thou to devour all men, that now thou hast swallowed one bone or morsel that shall choke thee, and make thee give up again all that ever thou hast eaten before!

"Rememberest thou not how Adam, our old progenitor, having all the fruit and the whole orchard of paradise at his will, was not therewith content, but needs would reach his hand to the tree which only was forbidden; and by that one lost all the other, and deserved death for his disobedience? No less was it forbidden thee by justice, finding no cause in me, to murder me upon this tree, which is ordained for the guilty and not for the innocent. And therefore, for thy unlawful greediness shalt thou be rewarded with the same price as he was. For it is no reason, that he which

was seduced by thee, should be punished ; and thou which wast both the author of his falling, and also guilty of the like transgression thyself, shouldest escape unpunished. As Adam, therefore, being lord of paradise, lost all he had for presuming upon one fruit forbidden, so, because thou, having authority given upon all sinners, hast likewise presumed upon one that is no sinner, hast forfeited thereby to me all thine authority which thou hadst before. So that henceforth I discharge all wretched sinners from thy jurisdiction, and the power of death, whosoever come to me. Avoid, therefore, thou cruel murderer; surrender thy hold out of thy possession ; let go thy captives ; yield from thee the bill of debt, wherewith thou hast them indebted to my Father, and condemned unto death; whom now I here discharge, and receive for my people, and set them free for ever.

"And lest thou shouldest think me herein to do thee any wrong, or to do more than I may, I would therefore thou shouldest well know, Satan, that neither I will here proceed with thee by my absolute power, as I might by reason of my divine nature, which I have united here to my humanity, for that were but to overcome thee by myself for myself; neither yet by mere mercy will save sinners from thee, but by plain justice and order of law I will proceed with thee, and in my manhood I will conquer thee, not for myself, but for man, because in my manhood I have satisfied the debt of all mankind. Which being discharged, then good right it is that the books should be cancelled, so that thou shalt have no more claim nor title to them. For this cause, I took this nature of man upon me, and came in similitude of sinful flesh, suffering thee all this while to work thy extremity against me, not that I needed for mine own part to have fallen into thy hand except I would ; but for their sake, because I would clear them out of all debt whom thou hadst in durance.

"Now, therefore, whatsoever it is that they owe to my Father, or to his law, here I offer myself bound to answer by the law the uttermost farthing for them. If their bodies have offended almighty God, my body hath made amends. If their souls are impure, my soul hath made a recompense. If the law require life for life, blood for blood, head for head, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot ; I set my life, my blood, my head, eye, tooth, heart, hand, foot, and every member of my body for theirs. For

what member in all my body is it, that thou hast not tormented? And though thou hast justly condemned them, and death deservedly hath slain them; yet I, being wrongfully condemned of thee, do here abandon thy just condemnation. And because their deserved death also shall be dissolved, as I have paid all other debts, so will I also pay the debt of death, and lay down my life for them. Which being done, neither shalt thou, nor death, nor the law, have any more interest upon them. For as by disobedience of one, all his posterity coming after him were worthily condemned to death; so by the same justice it is convenient, that by my obedience, all my posterity, that is, all they which issue out of me, by spiritual regeneration of faith and baptism, should be partakers of my life."

After this effect of speech, when Jesus had spoken to the Devil; speaking likewise unto Death, he saith to him,

"And thou terrible tyrant, thou dreadful Death, armed with the justice of God; the mortal enemy to all flesh; whom no man was ever yet able to resist, and which art so ready here and so boldly set up by Satan to seek my life, neither shalt thou escape my hands. For, as thou art the destruction to all others, so will I be thy destruction; thy death, O death; thy sting, O hell. And as I have overthrown the devil, thy master, and expelled him from his kingdom, and spoiled him of all his munitions; so will I also swallow thee up in victory, and throw thee down headlong for ever. And albeit I need not to suffer thy force unless I list, for mine own part, because thou hast no power upon me, and might therefore save myself from thy cruel danger if I would; yet for my love to mankind, because their life shall not perish whom my death may save, and because I will not save myself without them, but will deliver them out of thy hands, for their sakes, to pay their debt, and that by my undeserved cross, I may cross them out of the book of death which have deserved death, I am content. Come, death, therefore, and do thine office, I willingly here yield my life to thee. And yet neither will I yield it to thy hands, nor give it over at thy pleasure. And although thou come here with thine iron coulter or brazen maul to break my bones, yet will I not suffer thee so to do, neither shalt thou break one bone of me. To fulfil the scripture, I give over my life; yet not at thy will, but at mine own pleasure. For be it known to thee, O Death, that I have power to lay down my life, and to resume it again at mine

own will." And thus Jesus speaking, bowed down his head, and gave up his spirit to the hands of his Father, and so departed.

And now, lest ye should think these words of Christ above recited, to be invented of me, as a rhetorical fiction, and not confirmed rather by authentic scripture, ye shall hear what the Lord Jesus himself speaketh out of the prophets and out of evangelists, and his holy apostles, and what the virtue of his passion daily speaketh in our hearts by his Holy Spirit. First, ye read in St. John, what Christ our Saviour, speaking of Satan, saith, The prince of this world cometh, and in me he hath nothing, &c. John xiv. meaning that Satan was coming to lay hands upon him, and had no lawful cause so to do. And therefore, because he without lawful cause would presume to set upon him, we read what followeth after in the same evangelist. Now, saith the Lord, is the prince of this world judged, &c. John xii. And in another place, Now, saith Christ, is the judgment of this world, now the prince of this world shall be cast out. Also in the same place, When the Son of man, saith our Saviour, shall be lifted up, I will draw all things to myself, &c. John xii. And in St. Luke he saith, When a strong armed man watcheth his house, all is in peace which he possesseth; but when a stronger than he cometh and overcometh him, he taketh from him his munition wherein he trusted, and divideth his goods, &c. Luke xi. In Genesis iii. we read also, that the Seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head. Furthermore, when we read the words of Moses to Pharaoh, although it is in other persons, yet therein is represented and shadowed to us the very proceeding and working of Christ our spiritual deliverer, against the spiritual Pharaoh, the great prince of this world, the devil.

And here an end of Christ's sorrowful pains. After whose death the cruel tormentors, setting a sharp spear to his side, thrust it to his tender heart, from which soon streamed out blood and water, to fill up the full ransom of our redemption. And thus have ye the whole course of Christ's blessed passion briefly run over, with the principal parts and circumstances thereof. Wherein hath been noted to you his selling, his binding and handling, his haling and tossing to and fro, first to Annas, then to Caiaphas, then to Pilate, from Pilate to Herod, from Herod to Pilate again, from Pilate to the guildhall, from the hall to the bar,

where he was falsely accused, from the bar to the post and pillar, where he was cruelly scourged, from the pillar through the city, from the city to the mount, from the mount up to the rack of the cross, where no drop of blood was left in all his body. What torments of death were lacking? What misery could be added more than he in this passion sustained? Here were whips and scourges, pricks and thorns, cords and ropes, buffets and blows, mocks and mowes,* railing and reviling, hammer and nails, cross and gibbet, thirst and vinegar, reed and spear, with such like tortures and other pangs of his innocent passion, to use the words of Nazianzen, these were the instruments of our redemption. All these he, most patiently for our sakes, suffered in his most blessed body. Which, though they are now past in him, yet is it good for us ever to have them still in fresh mind and memory, not only on this Good Friday, but every day, both daily and hourly. Whereby we may learn daily to suppress this proud flesh of ours, and to crucify with him our crooked affections. For what flesh now can well be proud, beholding our Lord and Saviour so poor on the cross? Or who can set by the world, that seeth the world to be such an extreme enemy to the Son of God our Redeemer? and not only to him, but also to all his members to him belonging? Or what soul, having any spark of grace, can now give himself over to sin, considering this terrible judgment and severity of God upon his own natural and only begotten Son, for our sins, which otherwise could not be cleared, but by such a dear price, that is, the heart blood of such a glorious person. But of this enough, which rather should be mused upon in your hearts, than amplified in words.

III. Having thus passed over the pains and punishments of Christ; to proceed now to the third and last part of my text, it remaineth further to entreat next of the glorious triumph of our Saviour, which consequently followed after his death. Touching which death of his, many things are singularly to be considered, or rather to be wondered at, which pass the course of all nature and example of all others. For to all other men so commonly it happens, be they ever so victorious or puissant in this life, that when death cometh, it maketh an end of all their felicity and triumphs; who leave all behind them, and carry nothing with them, but are carried themselves to nothing. But in this death of

* Jeering, ridicule.

Christ all is contrary. For here, death is turned to life, extreme contempt to eternal glory, poverty to riches, misery to felicity; life endeth and life beginneth; death conquereth and is conquered; that which is wont to be the end to all other, is to him a new beginning. Where other men leave the world, there beginneth he his reign and kingdom: that which casteth other men down, setteth him in his triumph. Such a glorious thing was death to him, which is so miserable to all others; and not to him alone glorious, but by him also glorious to us all; so that of one death riseth a double victory, a double triumph. He overcometh, and we overcome; he triumpheth, and we triumph; he by himself, and we by him. And though he overcometh alone, yet he overcometh not for himself alone, but for us. For in his victory consisteth our victory, in his righteousness standeth our righteousness, according to the words of St. Paul, That we might be made the righteousness of God by him, &c.

Of this glorious victory of Christ after his death, the scripture in many places recordeth, as in the gospel of St. Luke; So it behoved, saith he, that Christ should suffer, and afterward to enter into his glory, &c. Luke xxiv. And what glory this is, St. Paul to the Philippians showeth; where, after he had first set forth the great humility of his obedience to death, and to the death of the cross, proceeding then further, and wondering at his exaltation, he saith, Wherefore God hath exalted him, and given him a name above all names, that in the name of Jesus should every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that all tongues should confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, &c. Phil. ii.

Of his kingdom also, and of his power, following after his passion, thus we read in the evangelists; Repent and amend, saith John Baptist, for the kingdom of heaven draweth near, &c. Matt. iii. And in St. Matthew x. and St. Luke x. where Christ, speaking to his disciples, biddeth them go forth and preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven draweth near, &c. Again, speaking to his disciples, he telleth them that he would not drink of that vinegrape, till he drank it again with them in the kingdom of his Father, &c. Matt. xxvi. Or, until the kingdom of God were come, Luke xxii.

Likewise, speaking of power given to him, that is, to

his human nature, he saith, All power is given to me in heaven and earth, &c. Matt. xxviii. Again, All things are given to me of my Father, &c. Luke x. Again, in another place, he confesseth, that the Father hath given all judgment to his Son, John v. Also, that his Father had given unto him power of all flesh, John xvii. And, I will draw all things to myself, &c. John xii. All which places are to be understood, not absolutely in respect of his divinity, but of his humanity; not as he is God, the Word, but as he is God-man, God and man, or God in man; God clothed with man, two natures in one person united; so is this power given him. Whereby, whosoever now will be saved, must come to him; whosoever will come to the Father, must come by him; who not only is the way to life, but is both the Way and Life. As there was no corn to be had in all the countries about Egypt, but only by the hands of Joseph, who after long affliction was so highly exalted; so is there no grace, no life, no remission, no Holy Ghost, now to be looked for, but at the hands of this our crucified Joseph. He is the brazen serpent which only healeth the serpent's wounds. He is that holy temple, where God only is to be found and worshipped, and no where else. Without him there is no hearing God, no helping God, no God for us at all. He that seeketh or searcheth any God, unless this God clothed in man, wadeth as in the ocean sea, where he findeth no bottom.

This I speak for causes. Some such I see which seem to profess a certain form of religion, but not according to Christ Jesus, or, as St. Paul saith, not holding the head. And although nothing be more intolerable to man's nature, than God in his naked, unmeasurable, and incomprehensible majesty, as Martin Luther truly saith, yet some such there are, fantastically spirited, who, setting Christ aside, wander in their speculative contemplations, they cannot tell whither, thinking to find out a God to save them by their own works and service, which they shall never find. So the Jew thinketh to be saved by the law of Moses, the Turk by his alcoran, the papist by his good deeds, the monk and friar by his works of perfection. Wherein they are all deceived. So far is it off that there is any saving God without Christ, that it is a horrible thing, to use the words of Luther, to think of God without Christ.

Whosoever therefore hath to deal with God for his justification, salvation, remission of sins, and life everlasting,

let him strain his brain no further with climbing speculations; but humbly seek and come to this incarnate God, Christ Jesus crucified, God dwelling in man, clothed with man, Mediator between God and man, the natural Son of God, and natural son of a virgin, bone of our bones, and flesh of our flesh, and there begin his salvation, as Luther well teacheth, where Christ beginneth his incarnation, and fall down to the manger and to the lap of the virgin, where this child lieth, and there behold this blessed Son, given to us, born for us, sucking, growing, conversant here in middle earth, teaching, preaching, bleeding, dying, rising again, ascending above all heavens, having full power above all things. And no doubt but this child shall bear him out, and bring him at length where he shall see face to face. In the mean season, let us anchor here in this haven, where we shall find rest and safe harbour, and beware we go no further nor lower, but only to this crucified person, except we go in his name, and be sure to take him with us wheresoever we go. If he be our King, whither then can the subject go further than to his liege prince and sovereign? If he be our Shepherd, whither can the wandering sheep seek but to his Pastor? Whither should the desolate conscience fly but to his own Bishop? Who is the glory to the wife, but the husband? Where can the member look for succour, but at the head? Or, what is it that we can lack, either in heaven or earth, but this our Head, our Husband, our Bishop, our Pastor, our Prince and King is able to supply? When the people of Egypt fainted for hunger and sought for corn, yet when they had all done, at length they were all sent to Joseph to be served. In Him ye are complete, saith St. Paul, Col. ii. as though he would say, there is nothing in all the world lacking to your necessities, but in him ye have it fully and perfectly. If ye would have grace, peace, mercy, quietness of conscience, forgiveness of sins, spiritual comfort, gifts of the Holy Ghost, resurrection, the favour of God, reconciliation, heaven, and life everlasting, he hath it in his own hands to give you; for in him it hath pleased God that all fulness should dwell, saith St. Paul, Col. i. And thus briefly ye have heard to what power and glory Christ our Saviour is now advanced, after his death and ignominious sufferings.

Now of his victory and triumph a word or two. Albeit I am somewhat weary, and have made you weary also, I fear with long standing; yet were it pity that such

heavenly matter coming now to hand, should pass untouched. In worldly victories and great triumphs, when any famous act is done, or prowess achieved, the captain is wont to bring before his triumphal chariot some notable spoil, or certain of his principal enemies subdued by him, for a spectacle to the people. So David brought the head and sword of Goliath into Jerusalem; Augustus brought Parthian spoils into the city of Rome; Sapor, king of Persia, brought Valerian the emperor in a golden cage. Of divers other famous and triumphant victories we read in histories; as of Alexander in subduing the barbarians; Themistocles in repelling the Persians; Emilius the Macedonians; Scipio, the son of Emilius, against Hannibal and the Numantians; Pompey against the Armenians and Asians; Cæsar against Pompey; Lucullus against Mithridates; Marcellus against the Sicilians and Carthaginians, with divers more. But amongst all victories, stratagems, and triumphs, never was, nor ever shall be any to be compared with this glorious conquest of Christ our Saviour, which exceedeth all triumphs that ever were, so far as the enemies whom he subdued were exceeding in strength above all enemies that man either did or ever could overcome. For the enemies whom those valiant warriors by violence and force of soldiers oppressed, though they were able in arms, yet were they but men, and such as might be overcome by men. But these, over whom this our Conqueror triumphed, were such adversaries as conquered even the conquerors themselves, yea, all conquerors that ever were; whom no flesh could withstand, no sword repress, no policy avoid. And these hath he vanquished, not by aid of any creature but only by himself, fighting alone. Of the which adversaries the first was the spiritual great Goliath, the devil, the mighty monarch of this world. The other was Death, the capital enemy to all flesh and blood. Of whose most happy overthrow, partly I have touched before. Besides these and with these cometh another great enemy, or rather greater than they, which being called in scripture God's heavy wrath or hatred, was a sore and intolerable adversary to man; whom this worthy Captain likewise put to flight and slew. And how? By his cross; that is, in being slain himself. Whereof we read in scripture thus, By his cross he hath reconciled us to God, killing enmity or wrath in himself, Eph. ii.

With this wrath, or rather before this wrath and hatred

of God, cometh another strong enemy called sin, with a cruel company of deadly adversaries waiting upon him, as hell, damnation, desperation, destruction, expulsion, the worm of conscience, thraldom, captivity, malediction; of which malediction first we read in Genesis, Cursed be the earth for thy sake; with toil and great labour thou shalt feed thereof, and get thy bread with the sweat of thy face, till thou return to the earth again from whence thou camest; for earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return, &c. Gen. iii. Again, of this malediction we read, Deut. xxviii. Cursed be thou in the city, cursed in the field, cursed be all that thou hast and possessest; cursed be thou, and all thy offspring, &c. with a number of other miserable calamities, which not only we may read in that chapter pronounced against us, but daily may feel by experience working in us. Whereof ensue all these hard distresses and heaps of infinite miseries, slavery, oppression under tyrannous persecutions, plagues, murders, wars, dangers by land, dangers by water, dangers by all elements, servitude, penury, imprisonments, casualties, ruins, adversities, injuries, fears, cares, heartbreakings, heart-burnings, cruel handlings, painful sufferings, sighs and sorrows, losses, grievances, afflictions of body, afflictions of spirit; and who is able to recite all the effects of God's malediction laid upon man for sin? All which heaps and multitudes of woful malediction, the death of this our Lord and Sovereign hath dissolved and despatched, triumphing by himself over them all, according to the words of St. Paul, Gal. iii. Christ, to redeem us from the curse of the law, was made for us accursed; that the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles through Christ Jesus, &c.

Besides these triumphs and valiant conquests of Christ our Saviour above specified, remaineth another triumph as glorious as all the rest, against a mighty, a sore, and a stout enemy, of whom all our enemies took their force. This enemy was of so great effect and divine authority, that so long as he reigned over us, neither could we be safe for him, nor yet was it in our power by any means to avoid him from us. But before I begin to speak of this enemy, I will first here be like Joseph of Arimathea, and reverently take down the body of our Lord from the cross and lay him in his sepulchre, till ye shall hear of him within these three days more again.

And here having now taken down the crucified body of

Jesus from the cross, to occupy your eyes, and delight your minds, I intend by the grace of Christ crucified to set up here in Paul's cross, or rather in Christ's cross, another crucifix, a new crucifix, a new rood* unto you, a crucifix that may do all christian hearts good to behold. This crucifix is he that crucified all mankind, and hath brought many a man to the gallows, to the cross, to the gibbet, and at last crucified our Lord and Saviour also. So severe was he, that he spared none; so strong, being armed with God's justice and judgment, that none could escape him. And now shall you see him hanged up and crucified himself; the most joyful and most happy sight that ever came to man. Lift up your heads, therefore, O ye faithful of the Lord, with joyful thanks unto God; and as you lamented even now in beholding the innocent Son of God wrongly crucified and bleeding upon the cross; so now rejoice as much in beholding this new crucifix which before was a crucifier and a judge, but now both judged and crucified himself, to all your comforts. Ye muse peradventure, and marvel what great crucifix this should be; and no doubt a great crucifix it is, and therefore required a great crucifier, and so he had. Both great conquerors and both themselves crucified, howbeit not of like greatness, nor of like condition. The one our Saviour, the other our condemner; the one for a few hours crucified, the other for ever; the one wrongfully, the other justly put to the cross; the one of his own mere will, the other of mere force and conquest. Of the one I have preached unto you already, which is Christ Jesus crucified; of the other St. Paul now shall tell you.

His name is, The Law of the Commandments, called otherwise, The Handwriting that is against us. Whereof ye shall hear what St. Paul speaketh, both in the epistle to the Ephesians, chap. ii. and also the Colossians, chap. ii. This law, saith he, of commandments, or God's handwriting that was against us in decrees, he hath made void, abolished, and hath affixed to his cross, and spoiling principates and potentates, hath made an open show of them, triumphing over them openly in himself. And so have ye upon one cross two crucifixes, two most excellent potentates that ever were, the Son of God, and the law of God,

* Roods were figures representing Christ on the cross, with Mary and John, &c. standing by. They were usually set up in a small gallery or loft.

wrestling together about man's salvation, both cast down, and both slain upon one cross, howbeit not after like sort. First the Son of God was overthrown, and took the fall, not for any weakness in himself, but was contented to take the foil, for our victory. By this fall, the law of God in casting him down, was cast in his own trip and forgot himself. For where the law saith, He that doeth the commandments shall live in them, Christ kept the law, and yet contrary to the law, lived not in it. And therefore as it was against all order of justice and law that he should be condemned, which never knew any sin; so stood it with good justice, that the law, which offended in condemning the innocent, should forfeit his right to him whom he wrongfully had offended. Whereupon, in conclusion it followed, that the law which before was holy, profitable, immaculate, and necessary, being now found a transgressor, must needs give place to a holier person, who never transgressed, and so rightly was taken as guilty and culpable, and fast nailed hand and foot to the cross; according as we read in St. Paul's words, The law condemnatory which was written against us in commandments he cancelled, and affixed to his cross, triumphing in himself, &c. Col. ii.

Where it is to be understood in crucifying this law of God, not that the commandments of God are now crucified and abolished, so that they are now not to be obeyed or practised of us any more. St. Paul saith not, that the commandments of God's law are crucified, but the handwriting that was against us in commandments to be crucified, &c. meaning thereby the curse, malediction, or condemnation of the law to be extinguished; so that the commandments of God, though they teach what is to be done, yet they condemn not them which are in Christ Jesus; and though they bear rule in the body so long as it liveth here, yet they rule not over the conscience to condemnation. For therefore was Christ made accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law, &c. Gal. iii. So that Christ, and the law, in a true christian conscience, are contrary and incompatible, as the schoolmen term it; or, as we may say in plain English, are two things which cannot stand together; but either Christ must give place and the law stand, or else the law, (the condemnation of the law I mean,) must end, and Christ reign in the conscience of the christian penitent. For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction, cannot govern together. But Christ, the Son

of God, who once died, can die no more, but must reign for ever. Wherefore, the law with his strength, sting, and curse, must surcease and have an end: so that as Christ's kingdom first beginneth upon the cross, even so the kingdom of the law upon the same cross, and at the same time, expireth.

And here cometh in that which in scripture is called christian liberty. Of which liberty St. Paul thus writeth to the Galatians, Christ was made under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law in bondage, &c. Gal. iv. And again, In the liberty, saith he, wherein Christ hath set you, stand fast, and come no more under the yoke of bondage, &c. By which liberty is meant, not the liberty of flesh, for us to run at large and do what we list (as many there are now-a-days which abuse christian liberty to carnal license) but the liberty belonging only to the inward conscience of a justified christian, which once was in bondage of the law, not only to obey it, but also in danger of perpetual death and malediction by disobeying the same. From this danger Christ now hath utterly cleared all true penitent and trembling consciences, setting them at liberty, not from the use and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and judicial authority of the law.

And that is it which St. Paul here speaketh and meaneth, saying, He hath despatched the obligation or handwriting that was against us in decrees, and hath crucified it fast to the cross, &c. Col. ii. Wherein the phrase of St. Paul's speech should be noted. If he had but said, that Christ had plucked us out from the danger of the law, or that he had stayed the sentence of judgment against us, or had reprieved us from the condemnation of the law, it had been much, and a joyful matter, no doubt of singular comfort unto us. For what more comfort can be to a guilty person, cast by the law, than to hear the peremptory sentence of judgment against him stayed, revoked, or turned away? And yet, in this comfort, some fear remaineth withal, so long as the authority of the Judge endureth, and the law still standeth, whom he offended. But now mark, O ye faithful of the Lord, especially you that labour and are laden in conscience, and ponder well the heavenly message of this worthy apostle, what he speaketh of the law, and how he speaketh. He saith not that the sentence of judgment is stayed, and that we are pardoned; nor

saith that the action is fallen and we are reprieved. No, no; he goeth further, and telleth us plainly, that the law, which was against us, our accuser and condemner, is slain, killed, crucified, and nailed fast, both hand and foot, and so crucified, not as Christ was, to rise again the third day; neither hath the law such power to rise again as the Son of God did, but remaineth slain and abolished, never to rise again nor to have power against them that are in Christ Jesus. Whereby the case of our salvation standeth firm and substantial, without all fear of judgment and condemnation. For if there be no accusing nor condemning but by the law, then to kill the law which killeth us, what is it else but to discharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemy's hand, doth him a pleasure; but he that killeth the enemy and riddeth him quite out of the way, giveth perpetual safety. So remission of sins by Christ, if it were for some times, and not for all times; for some sins, and not for all sins; then the law had lived still. But now the killing and crucifying of the law, importeth full remission to be absolute, and our safety to be perpetual. Whereby cometh now the saying of the apostle to be true, that there is no condemnation now to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, &c. Rom. viii. For the law being slain, which was the accuser, who shall now lay accusation against the elect? It is God that justifieth, and who is he then, or where is he that shall condemn? If ye will needs know where he is, St. Paul will tell you. There he is, saith he, upon the tree, upon the cross of Christ fast crucified. A dead man, saith our proverb, can do no hurt. Even so no trembling conscience needeth now to fear the power of the law, that is in Christ. Neither is there to him now any law to condemn him, as the said apostle most comfortably teacheth us, saying, Sin shall not prevail over you, Rom. vi. And why? Because the law, which is the power of sin, 1 Cor. xv. is now dead to us. So that like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband, being dead, and hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power over her; even so we now, being espoused unto Christ our second husband, are freed utterly from our first husband, the law; and, as St. Paul in the same place saith, are no more under the law, that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, but under grace; that is, under perpetual remission of sins,

committed not only before our justification, but as well also after, and during all our life long. Adding this lesson withal, as followeth in the same place, not that sinners should sin the more therefore because they are under grace, but, that weak infirmity might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of God's glory. For as God forgiveth not sinners because they should sin; so neither doth infirmity of falling diminish the grace of Christ, where faith with repentance followeth.

These things standing so, seeing that our first husband, the law, is now deceased, as St. Paul telleth us, let us weigh our state with the scriptures, and yoke ourselves no more under subjection of the law, from whom we are delivered. I speak not here with Ætius, Eunomius, or with the Anomean heretics* against the due obedience of God's holy law, (as our adversaries falsely belie us,) but I speak with St. Paul against the malediction and condemnation of the law, under whose jurisdiction all we were once contained, as the wife under the law of her husband. To him first we were by nature coupled, being to us a sharp and a bitter husband, and rather a tyrant, or an austere warder and schoolmaster, than a husband, and could in no case be divorced from him, but only by death. And now St. Paul here bringeth us word, that he is dead to us, and we to him, By the body of Christ, that we may lawfully now marry another husband, even Him that is risen again from the dead, to fructify unto God, through obedience of good life.

And thus much touching the triumph of this glorious Prince. Wherein you have heard what mighty and perilous enemies he hath subdued, and all by himself, and yet not for himself, but for us; forsomuch as the debt was not his but ours, which he for us did acquit. For we had forfeited to the devil our soul, to death our bodies, our conscience to the law. He then, taking our quarrel in hand, trod upon the serpent's head, threw down the devil, destroyed death, captived captivity, and crucified the law. So that the labour was his, the victory is ours; he had the pains, we have the profits, according as we read in John iv. Others, saith he, have laboured, and you have entered into their labours, &c. Also in the same place, One soweth the ground, and another reapeth the fruit, &c.

* Antinomians.

Now, what fruit it is we do reap by this blessed sowing of Christ, (who not only was the sower, but also the seed sown,) it is showed now in the end of our text and message, in these words of the apostle, That we might be made the righteousness of God by him.

In which few words is briefly compacted all the felicity that ever can come to mankind. For as sin was the spring original of all the miseries and mischiefs that ever happened to man before; so now righteousness likewise is the original cause that bringeth life and all goodness to man. Here then is righteousness set against sin, two contraries fighting, one to counterpoise with the other, both of equal force to contrary effects. For as sin and wickedness was perfect in us, which brought death and condemnation to man, so again that righteousness which bringeth life and eternal salvation, must likewise be perfect in man. Which, because it cannot be found in our own actions, must be sought in the actions of another, and imputed to us as our own, which may stand effectual. And that is it which the apostle here saith, That we might be made the righteousness of God by him, &c. As much as to say, that we might be accounted righteous before God with that righteousness, not which is in us and is imperfect, but which is in Christ, and by him is imputed to us through faith, which justifieth us before God.

Wherefore, we must remember here to make a distinction of righteousness, by the scripture, which according to the doctrine of St. Paul is taken two manner of ways. One kind of righteousness is that which is called the righteousness of God, or righteousness of faith, and the same also may be called righteousness passive. The other kind of righteousness is that which is called our own righteousness, or righteousness of works. Which also in us is called righteousness active. And this distinction is necessary to be marked, or else we shall be greatly deceived, and wander blindfold in the doctrine of salvation.

Of these two sorts of righteousness, the first, which is the righteousness of faith, is it which only standeth before God and none other, and therefore is called of St. Paul the righteousness of God; because it hath so pleased God, by his promise, to accept and impute this righteousness, standing by faith in his Son, to everlasting salvation Whereupon St. Paul to the Philippians, writing of the difference between these two sorts of righteousness, refuseth the

righteousness of the law, that he might be found in Christ, having not his own righteousness but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith, Phil. iii. Again, the said apostle, writing of the Jews, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it and yet found it, showeth the reason why. Because, saith he, the one sought it as by works and the law, and came not to it; who not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, who were the Gentiles, sought not for it, and yet obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is of faith, &c. Rom. ix. Also, in the third chapter of the same epistle, St. Paul writing of this righteousness which ariseth by faith in Christ, calleth it God's righteousness, coming not by our works, but by his promised imputation, in these words; Whom God, saith he, hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, thereby to make manifest his own righteousness in tolerating our sins, &c. Again, in the same chapter his words are plain and manifest. The righteousness of God, saith he, is by faith in Jesus Christ, in all and upon all that do believe. And likewise where he writeth in the first chapter in this wise; For the righteousness of God by it is revealed from faith to faith, &c.

And thus have ye heard of God's righteousness through faith, coming not by our works, but by God's grace and imputation; how St. Paul commendeth it, and how God alloweth it to justification. Now, as touching the other kind of righteousness which is called our righteousness, and cometh by man's working, and not only by imputation, ye shall hear what the scripture reporteth. All our righteousness, saith Isaiah, is like a defiled cloth, Isa. lxiv. When ye have done all ye can, saith our Saviour, say that ye are but unprofitable servants, Luke xvii. Likewise St. Paul, Phil. iii. speaking of the righteousness which cometh by the law, and weighing the same with the other righteousness which standeth by faith in Christ, so greatly abhorreth that sort of righteousness of his own, that he hath accounted, and doth still account, all those things which he thought before to be excellent vantage, now to be loss, and filthy dung, that he might win Christ, and be found in him, not having his own righteousness by the law, but that righteousness which cometh of God through faith. And thus ye see the true righteousness which standeth before God, not

to proceed of the law, but of faith; not to be ours, but God's righteousness; not to be active, but merely passive; that is, not that we are the agents or doers thereof, but only receivers of it at the hands of God, according as the phrase of this our text rightly purports. For the apostle saith not actively, that we should make or work the righteousness of God; but passively, that we should be made the righteousness of God. By whom? Not by ourselves, lest we should glory in ourselves; but by another; that is, by Him that was made sin for us, and suffered his passion for us, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Wherefore, whosoever studieth to be found righteous in God's sight, let him learn diligently by the doctrine of St. Paul, to make a separation, as far as is from heaven and earth, between these two; that is, between the righteousness of works, and righteousness of faith; and in anywise beware he bring none other means for his justification but only this, which the apostle here speaketh of, By Him, that is, only by faith apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified.

And thus much concerning the triumph of Christ crucified, and what fruit and virtue redoundeth to us by his glorious passion. By which passion you have heard how all our enemies are subdued, all gotten, all cleared and discharged, all finished and consummated; by the blood of whose cross all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth, Col. i. By the body of whose flesh we are reconciled. By whose blood we have redemption and remission of our sins, Eph. i. and we that once were far off, are made near unto God, Eph. ii. By whose stripes we are made whole, Isa. liii. By whose death, death is destroyed and life brought to light, 2 Tim. i. And he also destroyed which had the power of death, that is, the devil; and they delivered which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage, Heb. ii. By whose flesh is taken away the division and separation between God and us, Eph. ii. In whose one body both Jews and Gentiles are united to one God, Eph. ii. By whose obedience we are made just, Rom. v. By whose righteousness we are justified to life. By whose curse we are blessed from malediction of the law, Gal. iii. By whose poverty we are rich, 2 Cor. viii. Who is our peace, Eph. ii. Who is our Advocate with the Father, and the propitiation for our sins, 1 John ii. Who was made of God for us our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and

redemption, 1 Cor. i. Who saveth his people from all their sins, Matt. i. Who taketh away the sins of the world, John i. Who hath torn to pieces the obligation against us, Col. ii. Who justifieth the wicked by faith, Rom. iv. By whom we are at peace with God, Rom. v. By whom we have boldness to enter with all confidence through faith in him, Eph. iii. In whom we are made full and complete, Col. ii. Jonah was no sooner cast out of the ship into the sea, than the tempestuous winds ceased, and the sea ceased its raging, Jonah i. The paschal lamb was no sooner slain, and its blood upon the posts, than the people, even the same night, were delivered out of Pharaoh's thraldom, Exod. xii.

Infinite it were to express, and joyful to behold in the scriptures, all the admirable treasures and riches contained in this glorious passion of Christ our Saviour, which have no end in them. But because the sermon must have an end, wherewith I have wearied you enough and myself more, therefore, not to overweary you with more prolixity I think good to cease, after I shall add a word or two to show you to whom, and by what means these excellent benefits of Christ's passion are to be applied, whereof needful it is somewhat to be said. For as all we christians agree in this, that Christ is our Redeemer, and that he died for the sins of the world; so we all agree not in this, by what means the merits of Christ's passion are to be applied unto us.

Our adversaries, which hold with the church of Rome, and persecute us for holding with the gospel, say, that the mean cause, or instrumental cause or condition whereby the passion of Christ is made available and effectuous to us, is not only our faith in Christ, but divers and sundry other helps they join besides; as auricular confession, contrition sufficient, and satisfaction, propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, pardons and indulgences of the pope, the storehouse of the church; merits and invocation of the saints, to believe the church of Rome, and to be subject to the bishop thereof. And these they take as necessary matters to salvation, which, unless a man do annex as time and occasion serveth, the death of Christ cannot be applied, say they, as meritorious alone to salvation! Other concurrents also they add besides these above-named, which, albeit they touch not so near the necessity of salvation, yet they help well forward, and augment the working and merits of

Christ's passion to our salvation. And these they count to be merits of supererogation, councils, works of perfection, building of monasteries, giving to churches, hearing of masses, entering to religion, austerity of life, keeping of vows, wilful poverty, and such like.

Contrary to this doctrine, we affirm, with the word of God, that as the blood of our Saviour is the only material cause, and the promise of God in his word the formal cause, of our salvation; so again we say, that the same promise of God in his word standeth free and firm, without any condition at all, as of necessity annexed to justification, save only one, which is faith in Christ. For although works of mercy and charity are also required in scripture, yet that is not because the doctrine of promise requireth them as conditions to the act of justifying, but because the doctrine of the law requireth them, as necessary duties to the institution of life. Of this promise, being free and absolute without all other conditions, St. Paul thus plainly testifieth; Therefore by faith, saith he, cometh the inheritance, as after grace, because the promise might be firm and sure to all the seed, &c. Rom. iv. In which words ye see no conditions required to promise but only faith. And also why other conditions are excluded ye hear the cause; For that the promise, saith he, might be sure. And why sure? For else, if it should depend upon works and merits of men, it were always unsure and uncertain. For who ever knoweth when he hath done and deserved enough? And therefore it is that we say, Faith only justifieth; because the scripture teacheth us to be saved by promise, which promise were no promise, if it stood upon conditions. A gift that standeth upon conditions cannot be free. And if the inheritance come by the law, then it cometh not of promise. Now life everlasting, saith the scripture, is the gift of God, and cometh not of works.

When the woman's Seed was first promised to Adam, what had he deserved? Gen. iii. God promised to Abraham a seed wherein all nations should be blessed, of free gift, without all conditions, before he came out of his country, to follow the Lord, Gen. xii. The same Abraham had Isaac his son by Sarah his wife. Also Isaac had Jacob by Rebecca, but yet both Abraham and Isaac, with their wives, were past all strength to have children before God kept his promise. What deserved the tribes of Israel when God belivered them from the bondage of Pharaoh? In Exodus iii.

God promised to Moses to give the people a land of milk and honey; yet we read of no condition annexed to that promise, and though their deserts in the desert were very simple, yet God kept his promise. What made Jacob loved and Esau hated? the son of the free woman to be received, and the son of the bond woman to be cast out? Not deserving, but election; not the law of works, but the promise of God. How was the throne of David established for ever, and the throne of Saul refused? Not by weighing their merits, but by electing the persons, and by promise without conditions. Even so it hath pleased God, through Christ, his Son, to give to his little flock a kingdom; which kingdom, because he hath promised only to faith, and hath annexed no other conditions, therefore we, holding upon the free promise, say, that faith only justifieth us; not denying many things else to be required to the action of life, but excluding them as conditions in the act of justifying, which office of justifying goeth only with faith in scripture, and hath none other condition or mean annexed to it.

Now, to define what this faith is that justifieth, here is to be understood, that the true faith, whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, must ever look to its right object, which is the body of Christ, the Son of God, crucified. For else many kinds there are of faith, as every thing that is true may be believed, but not the believing of every true thing doth justify. He that believeth there is but one God who created all things of nought, believeth truly. And of this faith speaketh St. James, Thou believest that there is one God, &c. James ii.; yet this faith, without the object of Christ crucified, justifieth not. Likewise, he that believeth God to be just, omnipotent, merciful, and that he is true of promise, believeth well and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and so persuadeth himself to be one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and is well persuaded; but yet the same persuasion, unless it apprehend the right object withal, serveth not to salvation. The Jew, though he say that he believeth in one God, Maker of heaven and earth, and persuadeth himself that God hath elected the seed of Abraham, and though he is ever so devout in his prayers, charitable in his alms, or precise in keeping the law, and believeth ever so stedfastly that God is true of promise, yet is he never the nearer to salvation for all this. No more is the Turk in doing and

believing all the same. Briefly, whatsoever religion, rule, sect, profession, persuasion, or speculation, be it ever so contemplative, or whatsoever faith or belief it be that is not joined with this object, and grounded upon this head corner stone, that faith may go with a certain truth, but goeth not with true justification.

The faith which availeth to justification, is that faith only whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. Like as in the act of healing, the eyes of the Israelites and the body of the brazen serpent went together; so in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended. So that neither the passion of Christ saveth without faith, neither faith helpeth, unless it be in Christ its object.

Of this object we read in many places of the scripture; Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest, Matt. xi. Whoso believeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day. Ye believe in God, believe also in me, John xiv. He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life, John iii. Without me ye can do nothing, John xv. Whosoever believeth in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life, &c. John iii. He that is in me; he that loveth me; he that heareth me; he that abideth in me; he that receiveth me, John xv. Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, John vi. That they may receive remission of sins through their faith in me, Acts xxvi. To him all the prophets give witness, to have remission of sins, whosoever believeth in his name, Acts x. He that believeth, and is baptized, &c. Matt. xxviii. He that believeth in me shall do the works that I do, and greater than these, John xiv. Of such like places the scripture is full; wherein the verb of believing never appeareth to go without his pronoun, nor faith without his object.

Furthermore, as this justifying faith ever goeth with its object, so to the same faith this also must be required—that it stand not only in outward profession, in words, in tongue and talk, as swimming only in the lips; nor in outward forms, in shows and gestures only, which is but a dead and an idle faith, making a hypocrite before men, rather than a justified man before God; but must enter further into the inward heart, and as the sustenance of the soul, must inwardly be received and digested. For as

sustenance of bread and drink, being holden only in the hand, or gazed upon with the eye, nourisheth not, except the same be inwardly received and conveyed into the stomach; and yet neither the receiving of every thing sustaineth man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have a condition properly to nourish; in like sort is it with faith. For as believing of every truth, or faith of every object saveth not, but the faith only which is in Christ's blood; so neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except it be inwardly received by faith. And as the sun, fountain of all light, shineth not but only to such as have eyes to see, nor yet to them unless they open their eyes to receive light; so, the body of Christ crucified being the material sustenance only of our souls, it followeth that the same sustenance must be received by faith into our inward hearts, or else it is not effectual.

Upon which premises thus discussed, now I come to the definition of justifying faith, which by the doctrine of St. Paul is this—An inward apprehending in heart of Christ Jesus the Son of God, believing by his death freely to be purged from all our sins, and to be justified by his resurrection.

And this faith, because it is the only condition which the promise of God requireth in scripture to our justification, and none other; therefore we, with the scriptures, say, that faith only of all actions, qualities, gifts, motions, or sciences in man, doth only justify; not excluding thereby good works from christian life, but only from the office of justifying. Not separating faith from works, but distinguishing their ends; concluding thus, that good works are effects of christian faith; not causes of justification. But this doctrine, as it hath many adversaries, and great objections, so it requireth a more copious tractation. In the mean time, briefly to show how good works are the effects of faith, ye shall hear what St. Paul saith in the matter; whereby mark I pray you the genealogy of good works. Faith, saith he, which worketh by love, &c. Gal. v. Where ye see, first, how faith gendereth love, love begetteth good works; love followeth faith, good works follow love, faith goeth before as mother to them both. And this is the right and natural genealogy of good works. Love in man commonly never beginneth unless it be provoked by some advantage or benefit; and how then shall a man heartily begin to love God, except he first see his love and benefits in

Christ his Son towards him? Or, how shall a man work lively except first he love heartily? And therefore, in the doctrine of the church of Rome, which of late hath so darkened these mercies of God in Christ, I marvel how either a man could love well or live well.

But of this enough, and here an end, not for lack of matter, but for very weariness. I have overspent the time, I see, and my voice likewise, and almost myself also. In standing upon these matters, I have stood so long, that I am weary of standing. Wherefore, I shall desire you, look for no solemn peroration of me. Only instead of a repetition, I will conclude with a little short exhortation, as weary as I am, praying you, as I first began, according to the words of my message, I pray you for Christ's love; and not I alone, but all the ministers and messengers of Christ in all England with me, do pray you, with St. Paul, and with all the apostles of Christ; and not we only, yea, God himself, by all his apostles, ministers, and messengers, we all do pray and entreat you, not as messengers of men, nor of any bishop, no, nor of the bishop of Rome. The bishop of Rome, if he be a true bishop, is but a messenger himself, and that only in his own diocese where he is bishop.

In Christ's name, we pray you, that you, what or whereso-ever ye are, that have been hitherto strangers, unacquainted with or enemies unto God, now ye will draw near, and be reconciled, and be friends, not with the bishop, whom we call pope of Rome, who as I understand of late hath sent his proctors and messengers to reconcile you to him. Alas he is no god, nor yet good man; his reconciliation can do us no good, and is not worth a rush. Our message is, that ye will be reconciled unto the living God. And as you have long tasted of his wrath, so now begin to taste his friendship. A better friend ye cannot have; yea, to say the truth, no other friend ye lack but him; whom if ye have your friend, no enemy can do you hurt. If he be your enemy, no friend can do you good. His friendship, if ye desire, ye need not seek it far, it is here offered unto you for taking. But then ye must take it while it is offered; Behold now the acceptable year; yet is the good time, the golden time, yet is the day of salvation, 2 Cor. vi. Yet to-day lasteth, and the gate yet is open wherein the wise virgins may enter; but if it be once shut again, the foolish virgins shall never have it open any more, Matt. xxv. Ye that are rich, remember your cousin Dives, the rich man in

hell; who, because in his life-time, when he might have had whole fountains of favour, and refused, afterward would have had one drop of water, and could not. Take therefore while it is offered. Refuse not, lest ye be refused. Crave and have. Come, and spare not. Be bold, and fear not. For what should hinder you to be bold, having such a patron to make your way for you? If God's wrath do fear you, He hath killed it. If ye dread the law, He hath hanged it. If your heart condemn you, He is greater than your heart. If ye be sick, He came therefore to play the physician. If ye be hungry, He is the bread of life. If ye be poor, He was made poor for you, to make you rich. If God's curse lie upon you, He was made accursed for you. If ye be sinful, He was made sin for you, that you might be made the righteousness of God by him. What can we have more of him, or what can he do more for us than this, which is all? For he that hath bestowed his own Son upon us, how can it be but he will give with him all things to us? All things are yours, saith the Lord to us by his apostle, 1 Cor. iii.

Which being so, seeing then he hath done so much for you, remember your duties again, and say with the psalmist, What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord, Psa. cxvi. Dearly beloved brethren and countrymen, ye see how dearly He hath loved you; requite his love with love again. He hath called you to favour and grace, use it, abuse it not. Yesterday ye were sick and weak, this day with his blood he hath recovered you, with his wounds he hath cured you. I call every day, this day, whensoever a sinner repenteth his sin, and turneth to Christ. Yesterday ye were sinners, this day he hath purged you and made you righteous. Remember what ye were, and keep you as ye are, and sin no more. Yesterday thou wast a piteous Canaanite, stooping and shrinking down with thy back to the ground eighteen years together, Luke xiii. this day the death of Christ hath loosed thee of thy bands, and set thee straight; go upright now, and bend down to the earth no more. Yesterday thou wast piteously arrayed with the poor woman who having the blood issue twelve years, and having spent all her substance upon physicians, came and touched his garment, and stole health from him; this day, not the garment, but the blood of Christ hath cured thy blood-guiltiness; now fall into such

diseases no more, Luke viii. Thou wast yesterday a lame cripple from thirty-eight years, lying by the water pool, and hadst no man to cast thee into the pool, John v. Now is One come, not to throw thee into the water, but to throw water upon thee, even from his own heart; wherefore, being now made whole, go thy ways, and carry away thy bed; let thy long bed of laziness carry thee no more. With what a mighty voice cried Christ to Lazarus! So loud he cried, that the dead heard him, and came out of his grave. Lazarus was dead but four days; thou hast lain stinking in thy sepulchre so many years. Now cometh one, and saith, Come out, Lazarus! Come out, therefore, and cast away thy headcloth and winding sheet from thee, and be no more like them that go down to the pit, John xi. Matt. viii. Yesterday thou wast a foul leper; to-day thou art made clean, take heed of the like hereafter, Luke v. Yesterday thy hand was dried and benumbed by an old disease called pinching tenacity; now cometh One, and biddeth thee hold out thy hand, and giveth thee a plaster. A sovereign plaster for such a dry hand, is this; He hath distributed and given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever, Ps. cxii.

And here have I a suit to my lord mayor, before forgotten, but now remembered. God give it may speed, so shall his honour, with all this flourishing city, I trust, speed the better. My suit is for the poor, not for one poor man or two, but for all the whole poverty in general of this city. Forsomuch as I well understand such a way to be devised by God's good providence for the succour of all the poor inhabitants of this city, so that there shall hereafter need neither begging in the streets, nor yet in pulpits any more, and the same device to lack but a little setting forward through authority.* My humble petition, therefore, is, even for His sake which was made poor for us all, that my lord mayor that now is, or that shall hereafter succeed, with the sage senators of this city, gravely perpending the case, if they shall find the same device neither hurtful to the hospitals, nor chargeful to the city in alluring beggars; but rather a means necessary to avoid idle counterfeits, and profitable for the sustentation of the true needy; especially in this time of plague, and now in time of summer, before winter approacheth; then that they, joining their consent and authority with the approbation of their reverend

* Fox here refers to the original institution and design of the poor laws.

ordinary and learned bishop of this see, who, with his grave archdeacons, do all well allow of the same, will give their furtherance herein, and put that in use, or at least in probation of time, which yet lieth in form, and tarrieth but only the happy consent of your authority. Thus much I thought by the way, to beg of you in this sermon, because there should need no more begging in other sermons hereafter. And I pray God this may be the last, if it be his will. If this city of London, through diligence of good preachers be now planted in such ripe doctrine as God be thanked it is, and hath the name thereof above all cities and quarters of England besides, how requisite is it then, with this your forwardness of good doctrine, to be joined like readiness of good working!

Let it not be seen nor said in London, that here is great talking of the gospel, but little walking after the gospel. And if your teachers do rightly teach you, that by faith only in Christ you are justified; now let not the papists then falsely outface you, that your preachers teach you no good works; neither let them upbraid your christian knowledge, for lack of christian conversation. But rather, by good living stop their mouths, that either by your works you may win them to glorify your Father which is in heaven, or at least, they may have no occasion to cavil which would carp at your faith.

Truth is, that by faith alone (in respect of other works of the law) ye are justified, as your preachers teach. And yet the same faith, being alone, she is not alone: in her office alone, in practice not alone. The queen, though in her state and office she is alone, yet she goeth not without her maids of honour after her. The office of the eye alone is in the head to see, yet the eye is not without other members of the body which have all their offices appropriate to them. Let every thing stand in its proper charge and office; yet must every thing need in some respect the society of another. The root sucketh of the ground, the body receiveth of the root, the branch taketh of the body, the fruit shooteth out of the branches. These successively go together. So faith groundeth upon Christ's passion, faith giveth the sap of love, love blossometh forth in good works. In faith therefore, be constant, in love fervent, in works diligent, and in doctrine keep order. Let not the effect presume before the cause, nor the daughter go before the mother. Work well, not for justification, but for love

Love not because God should love you, but because he hath loved you, and hath justified you; therefore, being now justified, love him, and for his love obey him.

And thus keeping a right order, let us join, as spiritual men, these spiritual matters together, and play the right joiners; joining not, as many do now-a-days, house to house, land to land, lordship to lordship, office to office, bag to bag, benefice to benefice, parsonage to vicarage, prebend to prebend, with a deanery for a vantage;* living to living, another living to that, and for all that yet never contented nor satisfied. How this devilish desire of more cometh into the heads of some christian ministers, I cannot but muse. These joinings are naught. If we will be true gospellers, we must learn another joining, a better joining than this; which is, to join works to works, faith to faith, faith to works, and good works to faith; as did Paul and James, and so to join St. Paul and St. James together. There hath been a long contention and much ado in the church, how to join these two apostles together. And though in preaching much has been said, and learning showed; yet when all is said, there is none can join these two together better than you yourselves to whom we preach. And how is that? Join the lively faith of St. Paul, with the good works of St. James, and bring both these into one life, and then hast thou reconciled them both, and so shalt thou be sure to be justified, both before God by Paul's faith, and before man by St. James's works. And this is a perfect and a natural conjunction, when faith goeth with works, life with doctrine, practice with knowledge, zeal with science, expressing with professing, keeping with hearing, deeds with words, which are as inseparable companions, and in a christian man's life would not be sundered one from the other. Faith without works maketh but a carnal gospeller; works without faith make but a pharisaical hypocrite. But then they must go in their right order together, the handmaid not before the mistress. In case of justification and peace of conscience, faith is it alone which doth all. For faith hath wings, and flieth up to heaven, and there holdeth the promise, and wrestleth with the law, with God's judgment, and with the conscience of man, for everlasting life. Charity and works have no wings, but tarry below, and are occupied between neighbour and neighbour, and are as busy in earth as faith is in heaven; so that neither

* For a further profit.

is idle, but both labouring. And though they are diversely occupied in sundry functions, yet are they both dwelling, as Mary and Martha, in one house; that is, in the life of every true christian, linked and coupled as sisters, with a true christian copulative together. Of this conjunction Christ our Saviour thus speaketh; Blessed are they, saith he, which hear the word of God. Here is faith; mark now the copulative, and which keepeth the same, Luke viii. Likewise St. Paul, using the same copulative, saith, Having faith, and a good conscience, &c. 1 Tim. i.

This christian copulative, I beseech you, christian brethren, practise now in your lives; so that you, abounding in faith, may abound also in good works; and as ye abound in works that are good, so ye will abstain from all that is contrary, joining with this copulative of good works, the negative also of evil works mentioned in the epistle of St. Paul to Titus, where he exhorteth us, that we, denying or renouncing impiety and our worldly desires, will live soberly, justly, and godly in this present life, Tit. ii.

To conclude here with this exhortation of St. Paul, I beseech you with him, that you, being the dear and reconciled children now in God, will shake off and renounce your former impieties and appetites of this world. I say not this impiety or that impiety, this sin or that sin. I say not here as others are wont unto you, to leave your usury, your oppression, your bribery, your deceitful arts, with other such like. No, no; I go further than that; this I say, Leave and cast away the whole world from you, which is nothing else but a great heap, or a chaos, or a confusion of all abominations, packed as in one fardel* together. This world, I say, cast clean away, with all his appurtenances from you. For what have we to do, that are christians, with this damned and execrable world? Christ hath conquered it, hath redeemed you from it. The devil possesseth it, and will you possess it also with him? Hath Christ taken such pains for you, to bring you out of Egypt, and yet you will not come? To be in the world, to live in the world, and to occupy the world, I say not against it; neither do I mean in casting away the world, that you should cast away your riches, your possessions, your offices, promotions, and dignities; but that you should cast away your affections from them. Use them, but abuse them not; have them, but as trifles, and as though you had them

* Bundle.

not; make of them, but make not your god of them. Neither be you conformed, saith St. Paul, after the shape of this world, but with St. Paul be you crucified to the world, and let the world be crucified to you. Now what fantasy, what vanity, what bravery and bribery, what proiling* and turmoiling is amongst you in this world for worldly things, for gold and silver, that is for red earth and white earth, as though Christ had never come to redeem you unto another world than this! What mean you, my brethren and countrymen of England? Heaven is yours, both heaven and earth is yours; Christ hath reconciled you; his blood hath purged you; his faith doth justify you; his appearing will glorify you! God is yours, all is yours, all shall be yours! And what should move you then to pass for this world so much, which passeth away; and, as you shall see I trust, shortly shall perish before your eyes. Come quickly, Lord Jesus, we beseech thee. The Spirit of Christ Jesus our Saviour, and the might of his majesty, who was crucified for your sins, preserve you from this sinful world, and from the corruption thereof to the day of his glorious coming.

Come quickly, Lord Jesus for thy glory; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory for ever. Amen.

The Prayer in this Sermon, made for the church and all the states thereof.

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who wast crucified for our sins, and didst rise again for our justification; and ascending up to heaven, reignest now at the right hand of thy Father, with full power and authority ruling and disposing all things according to thine own gracious and glorious purpose: we, sinful creatures, and yet servants and members of thy church, do prostrate ourselves and our prayers before thy imperial Majesty, having no other patron or advocate to speed our suits, or to resort unto, but thee alone, beseeching thy goodness to be good to thy poor church militant here in this wretched earth, sometimes a rich church, a large church, a universal church, spread far and wide through the whole compass of the earth, now driven into a narrow corner of the world, and having much need of thy gracious help. First, the Turk with his sword, what lands, nations, countries, what empires,

* Contending.

kingdoms, and provinces, with cities innumerable hath he won, not from us, but from thee! Where thy name was wont to be invocated, thy word preached, thy sacraments administered, there now reigneth barbarous Mahomet with his filthy Alcoran. The flourishing churches in Asia, the learned churches of Greece, the manifold churches in Africa, which were wont to serve thee, now are gone from thee! The seven churches of Asia, with their candlesticks, whom thou didst so well forewarn, are now removed. All the churches where thy diligent apostle St. Paul, thy apostles Peter, and John, and other apostles so laboriously travailed, preaching and writing to plant thy gospel, are now gone from thy gospel. In all the kingdom of Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Persia, in all Armenia, and the empire of Cappadocia, through the whole compass of Asia, with Egypt, and with Africa also, (unless amongst the far Ethiopians,* some old steps of christianity peradventure yet do remain,) either else in all Asia and Africa, thy church hath not one foot of free land, but all is turned either to infidelity or to captivity, whatsoever pertaineth to thee. And if Asia and Africa only were decayed, the decay were great, but the defection were not universal. Now in Europe a great part also is shrunk from thy church. All Thrace, with the empire of Constantinople, all Greece, Epirus, Illyria, and now of late all the kingdom almost of Hungary, with much of Austria, with lamentable slaughter of christian blood is wasted, and all become Turks.

Only a little angle of the west parts yet remaineth in some profession of thy name. But here, alas, cometh another mischief as great or greater than the other. For the Turk with his sword is not so cruel, but the bishop of Rome on the other side is more fierce and bitter against us, stirring up his bishops to burn us, his confederates to conspire our destruction, setting kings against their subjects, and subjects disloyally to rebel against their princes, and all for thy name! Such dissension and hostility Satan hath set amongst us, that Turks are not more enemies to christians, than christians to christians, papists to protestants; yea, protestants with protestants do not agree, but fall out for trifles. So that the poor little flock of thy church, distressed on every side, hath neither rest without, nor peace within, nor place almost in the world where to abide, but may cry now from the earth, even as thine own reverence

* Abyssinians.

cried once from thy cross; My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Amongst us Englishmen, here in England, after so great storms of persecution, and cruel murder of so many martyrs, it hath pleased thy grace to give us these halcyon days, which yet we enjoy, and beseech thy goodness still to continue. But here also, alas, what should we say? So many enemies we have, that envy us this rest and tranquillity, and do what they can to disturb it. They which are friends and lovers of the bishop of Rome, although they eat the fat of the land, and have the best preferments and offices, and live most at ease, and ail nothing, yet are they not therewith content. They grudge, they mutter and murmur, they conspire and take on against us. It fretteth them that we live by them or with them, and cannot abide that we should draw the bare breathing of the air, when they have all the most liberty of the land. And albeit thy singular goodness hath given them a queen so calm, so patient, so merciful, more like a natural mother than a princess, to govern over them, such as neither they nor their ancestors ever read of in the histories of this land before; yet all this will not calm them; their unquiet spirit is not yet content; they repine and rebel, and needs would have, with the frogs of Æsop, a Ciconia,* an Italian stranger, the bishop of Rome, to play the king over them; and care not if all the world were set on fire, so they with their Italian lord might reign alone. So fond are we Englishmen of strange and foreign things, so unnatural to ourselves, so greedy of new fangled novelties, never contented with any state long to continue, be it ever so good; and furthermore, so cruel one to another, that we think our life not quiet, unless it be seasoned with the blood of others. For that is their hope, that is all their gaping and looking, that is their golden day, their day of jubilee, which they thirst for so much, not to have the Lord to come in the clouds, but to have our blood, and to spill our lives.

That, that is it which they would have; and long since this they would have had their wills upon us, had not thy gracious pity and mercy raised up to us, this our merciful queen, thy servant Elizabeth, somewhat to stay their fury. For whom, as we most condignly give thee most hearty thanks, so likewise we beseech thy heavenly majesty, that as thou hast given her unto us, and hast from so manifold

* A stork.

dangers preserved her before she was queen—so now in her royal estate she may continually be preserved, not only from the hands, but from all malignant devices wrought, attempted, or conceived of enemies, both ghostly and bodily against her. In this her government, be her governor, we beseech thee; so shall her majesty well govern us, if first she be governed by thee. Multiply her reign with many days, and her years with much felicity, with abundance of peace and spiritual life. That as she hath now doubled the years of her sister and brother, so, if it be thy pleasure, she may also overgrow in reigning, the reign of her father.

And because no government can long stand without good counsel; neither can any counsel be good except it be prospered by thee; bless, therefore, we beseech thee, both her majesty and her honourable council, that they both rightly may understand what is to be done, and she accordingly may accomplish that which they do counsel, to thy glory, and furtherance of thy gospel, and public wealth of this realm.

Furthermore, we beseech thee, Lord Jesus, who with the majesty of thy generation dost drown all nobility, being the only Son of God, heir and Lord of all things, bless the nobility of this realm, and of other christian realms; so, as they, christianly agreeing among themselves, may submit their nobility to serve thee; or else let them feel, O Lord, what a frivolous thing is that nobility which is without thee.

Likewise, to all magistrates, such as are advanced to authority or placed in office, by what name or title soever, give we beseech thee a careful conscience, uprightly to discharge their duty, that as they are public persons to serve the commonwealth, so they abuse not their office to their private gain, or private revenge of their own affections; but that justice being administered without bribery, and equity balanced without cruelty or partiality, things that are amiss may be reformed, vice abandoned, truth supported, innocence relieved, God's glory maintained, and the commonwealth truly served.

But especially to thy spiritual ministers, bishops, and pastors of thy church, grant, we beseech thee, O Lord, Prince of all pastors, that they, following the steps of thee, of thy apostles and holy martyrs, may seek those things which are not their own, but only which are thine, not caring how many benefices, nor what great bishopries they have, but how well they can guide those they have. Give

them such zeal for thy church, as may devour them; and grant them such salt, wherewith the whole people may be seasoned, and which may never be unsavoury; but, quickened daily by thy Holy Spirit, whereby thy flock by them may be preserved.

In general, give to all the people, and the whole state of this realm such brotherly unity in knowledge of thy truth, and such obedience to their superiors, that they neither provoke the scourge of God against them, nor their prince's sword to be drawn against her will, out of the scabbard of long sufferance, where it hath been long hid. Especially, give thy gospel long continuance amongst us. And if our sins have deserved the contrary, grant us we beseech thee, with an earnest repentance of that which is past, to join a hearty purpose of amendment to come.

And, forasmuch as the bishop of Rome is wont on this Good Friday, and every Good Friday to accurse us as damned heretics, we here curse not him, but pray for him, that he, with all his partakers either may be turned to a better truth; or else, we pray thee, gracious Lord, that we never agree with him in doctrine, and that he may so curse us still, and never bless us more as he blessed us in queen Mary's time! God of his mercy keep away that blessing from us!

Finally, instead of the pope's blessing, give us thy blessing, Lord, we beseech thee, and conserve the peace of thy church and course of thy blessed gospel. Help them that are needy and afflicted. Comfort them that labour and are heavy laden. And above all things continue and increase our faith. And forasmuch as thy poor little flock can scarcely have any place or rest in this world, come Lord, we beseech thee, with thy, It is finished, and make an end, that this world may have no more time nor place here, and that thy church may have rest for ever.

For these and all other necessities requisite to be begged and prayed for, asking in Christ's name, and as he hath taught us, let us say the Lord's prayer.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

A Postscript to the Papists.

Because here remaineth behind an empty page of white paper to be supplied with some writing or other; I thought no better matter for my purpose than to write a word or

two to you, which hold so devoutly with the proceedings of Rome, craving at your hands, that, forasmuch as the controversies between you and us are weighty, and chiefly stand upon the effect and working of Christ's passion, you will therefore give the reading hereof, either to consent to the doctrine, if ye think it consonant or to refute the same if ye mislike it. My saying and meaning this:

1. That if ye find by the scripture of God, or any approved doctor, that the sacrificed body of the Son of God, suffering once upon the cross on Good Friday, is not the only material and sufficient cause of our perfect salvation, remission of sins and justification.

2. Or, that the promise of God, which is to salvation, standeth not free, without any condition of work or works to be added to that effect, save only faith in that person:

3. Or, that faith in Christ is not the only mean and instrument whereby this passion is made to us effectual; you will bring out your proofs, show forth your learning, and what you can say. And if you will not let the world be judge, yet let the world hear your reasons, let truth with judgment be tried, let railing, trifling, and scoffing go. Blood and persecution is no way to find truth, but to blind truth. The scriptures, in matter of salvation, are plain and evident, teaching simply without trope or figure, and soon will try the cause.

By the which scriptures, if you shall find the contrary to be true, that is, 1. that the passion of Christ crucified is the only material and efficient cause immediate which worketh our salvation, which appeaseth God's wrath, and pacifieth all things in heaven and in earth, taketh away the sins of the world, and disannulleth the damnation and malediction of the law for ever, from all them that are in Christ Jesus.

And, 2. that the promise of God to salvation in Christ, is free, without condition of any works of the law to the same end to be annexed, save only faith.

3. And that the same faith in Christ is only the mean and condition whereby the passion of Christ worketh, and the promise of God giveth to us justification. These verities, I say, thus standing by the scripture, seeing our justification and remission of sins standeth consummated by Christ, free by promise, and assured by faith; then declare unto us, I beseech you, which so magnify the religion of Rome, how standeth with God's religion your auricular

confession for loosing of sins, satisfaction for the same, works of perfection and supererogation, masses, trentals, your propitiatory sacrifice, praying of saints and to saints departed, pardons, purgatory for cleansing of sin, building and entering into monasteries for remission of sins, pilgrimages, stations of Rome, jubilees, straitness of orders, with an infinite number of such like? All which implements of your church, to what use now do they serve, or how can they stand with scripture, but either they must derogate from Christ's passion, or else the passion of Christ must needs make them void?

For the same Christ Jesus crucified, I desire you, therefore, if ye see these evidences to be true, then be reconciled to the truth, and as St. Paul desireth you, Be ye reconciled to God. Let the religion of God stand simple, as he left it himself. Man's additions in God's matters are but fantasies. In other matters add what ye list; but in matter and cause of salvation, Christ left nothing behind him to be added any more, either by apostles, or martyrs, or bishops, or any other; but hath consummated the perfection thereof fully by himself, leaving nothing therein imperfect. Whereunto he that addeth blasphemeth, and doth no less than infringe the testament of the Lord. As the presumption is great, so I exhort you in the Lord to beware, remembering the warning of St. Paul, That if any apostle, or angel from heaven shall preach any other gospel besides that which is received and planted, Gal. i. Ye know what followeth, (let him be accursed.) The Lord of grace open your eyes to see, and your hearts to embrace the knowledge of his truth, to his glory, and your spiritual comfort, and everlasting life in him. Amen.

CHRIST JESUS TRIUMPHANT.

BY JOHN FOX.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER,

COMFORT IN CHRIST JESUS.

Such is the force of flesh, christian reader, especially when the spirit doth make resistance, that what we would not, and should not do, that we do, Rom. vii. A subtle and most wily serpent, who in security is well pleased to be secure, and to them that sleep is also favourable to underlay a cushion. But when the stronger man, Luke xi. Jesus Christ, cometh upon them both, and with God's finger awaketh the one, and dispossesseth the other, then he playeth the old devil, and winding his tail plump round, with greater force doth hiss at, leap at, and bruise the stronger man's heel, because the stronger man broke his head, Gen. iii.

And herein consider the wisdom of God's Spirit in these speeches of bruising the heel and breaking the head, as therein lively expressing the victory of Jesus Christ, Satan's overthrow, and the special comfort of a mourning conscience. For it was Satan's power, of God, to bruise Christ's heel, to beat, buffet, hiss at, spit at, scourge, and persecute him in the flesh, to shame him on the cross, to gore his side, to pierce his head, heart, and hands, to shed his blood; yet the same Jesus Christ triumphantly rose again with the same his flesh, ascended with the same, and with the same doth there remain at God's right hand, Lord of heaven and earth. In taking of which bruised heel, albeit he sometimes fainted in the infirmity of the flesh, and as it were called foot back again at the first touch or step, because of the sharp sting which he felt (for his own reverence cried at the entrance of his passion, saying, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass, Matt. xxvi.): yet he willingly, for our only cause and benefit, continued to be bruised on the heel; manfully spoiled the enemy of harness wherein he trusted, Luke xi. trod under the red dragon, Psa. xci.

and, finally, brake and crushed his head; that is, the rigour of the law, the strength of sin, and the sting of death.

In the same case and cause of quarrel which he had with our Master, he laboureth to master us, using his force in and upon our flesh, giving us often in conflict a foil or a fall; but it is the fall of the flesh, not of the spirit; of the body, not of the soul; of Adam, the old and outward man, not of Christ, the inward and the new. For the same heel, or flesh, bruised by the fall, "through the law in itself" (the corruption that yet remaineth even in the elect) "rebelling against the law of our mind," albeit it hold us captive, and make us dead through trespass (for it standeth not with the riches of God's mercy and grace, neither with the kindness which he showed unto us in Christ Jesus, that we should be perfect in this flesh,) yet it hath no dominion, it "quickeneth, and riseth again, and is made to sit in heavenly places," Eph. ii.

Where note, christian reader, that the Holy Ghost saith, it is made to sit, it sitteth not itself. How then, or of whom cometh the healing of this bruise? the recovery of this fall? the delivery from this body of death? and albeit our enemies make often and strong invasions or incursions, yet whence is the final victory? I thank my God, saith St. Paul, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Rom. vii. First, he thanketh—a note of grace and free gift, not of desert or duty; for who giveth another thanks for that which of necessity and desert is his own? Secondly, he giveth thanks to God, not to himself; and he thanketh not God, but in Christ Jesus our Lord; so that in ourselves there is nothing, in God the Father standeth the gift, but Jesus Christ is all in all. For God will not, neither can he be pleased, but only when Christ makes intercession. Mark the course and doctrine of the scripture. It is God, indeed, who hath raised us up together, and hath made us sit together in the heavenly places. But did he this for that we pleased him? or for that some great saint did make entreaty? No: he made us sit there, saith the text, in Jesus Christ; in no other. And why so in Jesus Christ? Forsooth, that he might show in ages to come the exceeding riches of his grace, through his kindness toward us, in Christ Jesus, Eph. ii. So that his kindness, grace, riches, and whatsoever his blessings which we have, or shall have at his hands, it is only for his well-beloved Son's sake; who only made

us, who were far off, near unto his Father; and reconciled us that were in his hatred, and children of wrath, by his cross and precious blood. Without having him in thy mind or heart, it is a horrible and fearful thing but to think of God: a God of wrath and severe justice, unless only in his Son Christ, in whom he is well pleased.

Pleased* he is, we all confess, and not only for original sin alone, (as some do affirm, thereby teaching that what sin we commit after our baptism, we ourselves, or the priest for us, having his hire, must redeem, and not Christ,) but also for all other sin in course of life committed. For, by grace we are saved, saith the text, (not washed,) and that through faith.

Which faith cometh not by often working well, (for we might well argue that we are saved by works, if that we are saved by faith, as the fruit of our works,) but it is the gift of God, saith the scripture in the same place, and not our works. And why? lest any man should boast of himself.

For thy works, therefore, and for thy faith, thank God, and thank God through Jesus Christ. He only is that good and pitiful Samaritan, who, when we have taken the foil, or the fall, being sore wounded in this conflict of the flesh and spirit, and so cast as forlorn to the hedge, doth wash and heal our sores and wounds with his most pure and blessed oil; his sweet heart-blood paying the uttermost farthing of our debt: to him be all honour, glory, and triumph, for ever! Amen.

Of this I thought good to admonish thee, christian reader, desirous with thee to rejoice in the wonderful works of mercy wrought by this our great champion, Jesus Christ; whose victory is our victory; and though we sin of infirmity, yet he is perfect. Read, and accept this comfortable treatise which I have translated; therein shalt thou find faithfully set before thine eyes, what Christ hath done for us in his passion, and what he requireth of us again, for being made partakers of the fruits of his passion.

The same Lord Jesus Christ bless thy body and soul to life everlasting! Amen.

In whom I most heartily bid and wish thee farewell.

RICHARD DAY.

A. D. 1578.

* Appeased.

CHRIST JESUS TRIUMPHANT,

WHEREIN IS DESCRIBED THE GLORIOUS TRIUMPH AND CONQUEST OF CHRIST, OVER SIN, DEATH, THE LAW, THE STRENGTH AND PRIDE OF SATAN, WITH ALL OTHER ENEMIES AGAINST THE POOR SOUL OF MAN.

BY JOHN FOX.

The triumph of Christ notably appeareth in man's misery.—So often as inwardly in spirit I behold the transitory and frail estate of our mortal nature, thoroughly vexed with infinite miseries, perils, injuries, and lamentations, so that we have nothing of sure account, nothing free, but all subject to the servitude, tyranny, and slavery of most raging enemies: it seemeth to me almost unspeakable, how deeply indebted we are to Christ Jesus, our Saviour and Triumpher most victorious. Unto whom, of bounden duty, we have given all that is ours, and ourselves wholly, and more than wholly, yet in no respect are we answerable to his wonderful deserts; so far do those things, which this our heavenly Champion hath compassed and performed for our cause, surpass, not only our strength and nature, but also all conceit of heart and thought; the great riches whereof well near exceed all credit and belief.

If we commonly and very much esteem the worthy exploits achieved by renowned captains of this world; if with great joy and desire we hunger after them, being printed in books, graven in tables, painted on walls, or set forth and represented on a stage; if we greedily hearken after them and wonder at them; if we give all triumph, all pomp, honour, and praise unto them; how then ought we to be affected towards this our heavenly Conqueror, whose worthy acts and most wonderful stratagems do with such infinite brightness darken all glory, and so far exceed the nature of human things, that heaven is not farther distant from the earth, shadows do not more differ from the things themselves, nor the counterfeit from that which is true!

But so it falleth out, that as the commodity of the other, even so the majesty and incredible benefits of this our heavenly Prince are not so highly esteemed of us, unless we first perfectly know and feel the force of those our enemies whom he hath subdued, or the depth of those dangers from which we have been and are daily delivered.

Wherefore, I am to request all godly and true-hearted christians to give diligent heed and attentive ear, whilst I shall both plainly and truly set before their eyes the most lamentable estate of our wretched nature, and the exceeding might and malice of our most cruel enemies. So will it come to pass, that we shall more worthily account of, and more joyfully acknowledge, the victorious power of Christ in working our salvation.

The consideration of man's misery.—And that I may pass over with silence those lighter fleabitings, (in respect,) I mean the common kind of grievances, yet full of misery and sorrow, which sundry ways befall us in this life—that also I may omit the inward groanings of the heart, and secret vexation of thoughts, and temptations, wherewith every one, for the most part, is inwardly tormented in himself, for who hath not some one or other familiar Satan attending at his heels?—that I may let these things pass, the several discourse whereof would require whole volumes long and tedious, look upon those common and public evils equally and indifferently betiding to us all. How miserable do they make this life, or rather to be no life at all! To be touched therewith we count it much, yet they oppress us; but to be oppressed by them we make a wonder, yet most wonderfully and utterly we are thereby consumed.

The invincible power of death.—And first, to begin with the least and lightest of these evils, consider with me the invincible tyranny of death, daily ranging and raging in this world; the power and force whereof not all the monarchs of the earth could for a moment withstand. Not that great king of Macedon, whose aspiring heart the conquest of one whole world could not content, was at any time able to cope with her: not Hercules' strength, albeit the bane of most ugly monsters, was ever able so much as to wound this biting serpent: not that Persian Xerxes, even he that threatened floods and mountains, could once amaze her, with all his armed troops: not Marius the renowned, or the more renowned Pompey; not haughty Cæsar; not the most hearty and valiant Roman soldiers, who limited their empire with the bounds and borders of the earth, bringing all nations into subjection, were at any time able to cast off the yoke of her subjection!

How many ages of this world hath this tyrannical fury rioted up and down, yet no mortal wight has been hitherto found, once able to delay, much less to delude, and so

escape her deadly invasion! Not the dreadful majesty of king or emperor could at any time have her at beck or check. No conveyance or deceitful drift in law could circumvent her, no worldly wealth could bribe her, no reaching head or high look of philosophers could teach her a trick of new device in school, no painted speech of rhetoric could qualify her rage, no subtle sophister could give her the shift, no brag of stoical liberty could ever shake off her servile yoke, no pharisaical holiness, no religion of bishops, no monkish austerity; no prayers of priests could intreat her, no citizen's policy, no handicraft's labour, could banish her of house or town. Finally, no strength of nature, no reason of man, could at any time resist and give her the foil.

What man, saith the prophet, liveth and shall not taste of death? Psa. lxxxiv. For she, tyrannically sparing no one, invadeth all estates, all sexes, and ages of men. She assaulteth as well prince's towers as poor men's cottages She separateth wife and husband; dissolveth friendship; and, which is most lamentable, violently snatcheth the tender suckling from the mother's breast. Oh, most pitiful and plentiful are the tears, lamentations, and heart-breakings, which hereof have, and daily do proceed! After this manner, that seely* mother in the gospel, Luke vii. following her only son to burial, how, think you, did she lament and wring her hands! but the Lord, most happily meeting her on the way, restored her son to life again. So Lazarus, of his two sisters, John xi. so Dorcas, Acts ix. is of many lamented. These only I touch by the way, for example's sake, well knowing that no house or family whatsoever but some time or other hath like chances and cause of woe.

Now, if we were so clear of eye that we might pierce the heart and bowels of the earth, therein taking view and tale of the infinite number of all those whom death, since the creation of the world, hath swallowed up; what a wonderful slaughter of dead men! what outrageous tyranny of devouring death should we not only comprehend with inward mind, but also behold with outward eye! For the infinite and inscrutable number of men living at this present hour, what are they in respect of those who, so many years since taken away by death, dwell, as the poet saith, and rot in the grave? Howbeit, such eye-sight had that most wise prophet, who by commission did proclaim, that All flesh is grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of

* Simple, ignorant.

the field, Isa. xl. And what then shall it avail any one, in what delights, pleasures, power, glory, wisdom, learning, counsel, honour, and pomp he live and flourish, when he shall be perforce deprived, not only of those things, but of life itself, as also of light, air, and body? For, as the wise preacher doth witness, The wise man as well as the fool, Eccles. ii. the learned as the unlearned, the rich as well as the poor, the prince and peasant, all alike. There is no difference, no respect or regard of persons, one or other. Death meteth with all alike, equally striking all mortal creatures. For all men are born on this condition, to die, some sooner, some later; and though some one man's life last to extreme old age, which now is very seldom seen, yet that hindereth not a whit but that the old proverb may still be true as steel, A man, a bubble!

Death overcome. The victory and triumph of Christ.—And here, first, doth THE TRIUMPH OF CHRIST OUR LORD open and show itself in our infirmity, by infinite degrees surpassing whatsoever triumphs or stratagems anywhere are, or at any time have been, under heaven. Not only in that he alone of all men, even in that respect that he is man, is now, contrary to man's nature and condition, become immortal; but in this also, that, by restoring us, miserable and mortal men, from the bondage of death to immortality, he translateth us from a wretched and frail estate of life to eternal bliss of salvation, there making us coheirs with him, and free citizens of his glorious kingdom. What thing in all the world was ever comparable to this victory? Take good and stedfast view of all, whatsoever is on earth: what can there be of more glory, sovereignty, and wonderful pomp, I will not say be found, but either desired, or once thought of and conceived, than this most famous and superexcellent triumph? Shall not here all the princes and potentates of the earth abate their courage and go back? nay, rather be as contemptible and silly creeping worms, in comparison of this most heavenly and triumphant Conqueror?

For, if we give such glory to earthly princes for their magnificence and bountiful hand open to all their subjects throughout their whole dominions, albeit large and wide, they themselves notwithstanding feeling no scant or want: what eternal praise ought we then, think ye, to give and yield to this our triumphant Monarch and Prince of all princes? whose kingdom first being so ample and large, as not to

be limited with the ends of the whole world, nor coasts of the ocean sea, but reacheth into heaven itself, even to the very tribunal seat of God, according to that prophetical psalm of David, And he shall rule from sea to sea, from the floods to the outmost borders of the earth, Psa. lxxii. and in another place, Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the bounds of the earth for thy possession, Psa. ii. Also we hear it said of Christ himself, Matt. xxviii. All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Innumerable are the testimonies hereof, but these suffice to touch the matter.

The benefits of Christ how great they be, and how common to all.—Now, concerning his benefits, as they are of their own nature most excellent, so they are common to all, appertaining to all alike, and so appertaining, that no man can be destitute of them without great misery; no man again enjoys them without salvation and perfect felicity.

And whereas the riches and benefits of other kings are either consumed by too large giving, or not bestowed on every one, or if they are very free of gift, yet not to all, but to such as stand in need; the case falleth out far otherwise with this our prince, whose eternal gifts and benefits, besides that they never decrease, but rather increase, are also of such kind and sort, that as well mighty monarchs as seely beggars, the wise man as the fool, the learned as the unlearned, the Jew as well as the Grecian, the man as well as the woman, the master as well as the servant, old men as well as children. Finally, that I may not run through every several calling, all men, of all estates, stand in need of Him. With Him there is no difference of degree, no one better than another, and no respect of persons. All, whosoever, as many of us as are men, are, after one and like manner, beggars at this Prince's gate. But he, in the mean time, fully rich in his own abundance, needeth no man's help or aid at any time; neither could it avail him one hair to have all the princes' treasures of the world gathered on a heap, how huge soever it were. For what canst thou give unto Him, who only giveth all things, and hath under his power whatsoever is any where in heaven or earth?

The preposterous study and vain carking care of men.—These things being thus, what blind fury and mischievous plague possesseth christian hearts, that they should so greedily hunt after the favour of earthly princes, whereas, in the mean while, either few do think of, or not very many care for,

the sovereign favour of this eternal Monarch! The labour, disposition, and corrupted affections of christians, in these days, witness the same. I speak not of all christians, yet I wish that my complaint took not hold upon so many; neither do I herein touch all, jointly, one with another, no, not the wicked themselves, but only for admonition's sake.

For, as the course of the world goeth now, what prince at this day, living so simple on the earth, whose authority is not more regarded of his subjects, whose displeasure is not more feared, whose benefits are not more earnestly desired and esteemed, whose will is not more speedily despatched, whom we do not more faithfully serve, than this our Lord, the only sovereign Prince of all power?

Go to, worldling: when the bountifulness of thy prince hath enriched thee, even as much as man may be of man, and thou hast gotten into thy hands that for which thou hast many years with great flattery hawked after, yet what hast thou gotten? Perhaps a rich farm near the city, or thy barns are better stored with grain, or thy pouches close couched with golden angels: and perhaps too, if it take thee in the head, thou buildest stately and magnifical palaces, purchasest high style and title, authority, rule, and government, with all other things appertaining to the show of the world—and dost thou make so much account of these trifles, that by and by thou weenest to have reached to perfect bliss, and so to shove nearer to heaven gates?

The uncertain favour of princes.—First, I omit here to dispute of the uncertain favour of princes, and interchangeable course of fortune, which ebbing and flowing in shorter time, and more speedy recourse than any sea, as she never continueth long with the same men after one sort, even so the sooner and the greater things she giveth, the sooner and greater things she taketh away again.

But, put the case that all is sure in good estate, and be that certainly thine, contrary to the saying of Mimus, which fortune hath made thine—when thy reckoning is made, what great commodity, I pray thee, do thy great riches, so greatly desired, bring unto thee?

The great felicity of this world is but vanity.—I know what thy secret thought doth murmur hereat, forsooth, That by this means, which I seem so to mislike, thy body is well provided for and fareth well. Be it so, I confess to that. But, in the mean time, what, I pray thee, is become of thy miserable and wretched soul? Thy belly is glutted

with delicates, thy ears full of music, thou flowest in wealth, thou excellest in authority, flourishest in honour and dignity, aboundest with friends; thy privy chamber is adorned with gold and precious stone, thou art guarded with routs of serving-men, honoured of poor suitors and clients: finally, thou art had in admiration and reverence in the face of the world.

But in the mean time what is done within, in thine inward world? how dost thou there agree with thy king? Let us see. Forsooth, thou, beholding all things only with thy outward eyes, art so ravished therewith, that, to thy thinking, nothing is worthy admiration but this world, nothing else that doth greatly appertain unto man. Oh, how far wide art thou, and how greatly deceived! But open, I pray thee, the secret and inward eyes of the heart, then shalt thou well understand that there is a far other world than this, where far greater riches and richer treasures are found of them who seriously and heartily travail to seek them out. And think not here, that I send thee into some fiery and crystal heaven, whereby thou mightest allege against me that saying out of Moses, Who is he that shall ascend into heaven, or that shall descend into hell? Deut. xxx. No, I will bring thee into another place, even into thyself; thou shalt need no long voyage, or Ulysses' travels: only consider with good advisement those things that are within thee, so shalt thou easily perceive that thou daily carriest a world about thee, in thy heart.

Man a little world. Two sorts of worlds compared together.—For, what is man else than a certain world? in respect of his bigness small, but if thou regard his marvellous workmanship, valour, personage, and the image of God according whereunto he was made, he is, in many respects, of greater estimation and excellency than this visible world; the most precious things whereof are but trifles to the surpassing dignity of the other, which is invisible. Wilt thou have a sight of the wonderful workmanship and riches of this thy invisible world? The beholding of this sun, this light, this life, doth, I know, greatly please thine eyes; but how much superexcellent is the sun within thy body, the sincere eye of the mind, illuminated with the light of Jesus Christ, the brightness whereof cleareth and cheereth the whole mind of man! Glittering gold, plenty of silver, great lands, and rich possessions delight thee; but how more bright shineth the most precious pearl of a

fervent faith, sought in the fruitful and most pleasant fields of the evangelists? which when thou hast found, thou sellest all other things, setting them at nought, for desire of this!

Worldly wealth. True peace what it is. The peace of the world. True and false liberty.—The visible world hath his peace, tranquillity, and liberty: neither doth this world also want his peace and liberty, yea and it so wanteth them not, that if we can distinguish truth from falsehood, they are nowhere else to be found but here. Thou callest that peace, when there is no privy grudge or malice between thee and thy neighbour; but how much more excellent a peace is a true heart, a clear conscience before God, and a quiet mind, being at unity with itself and with God! Moreover, thou makest much of liberty which is but freedom from the bondage of men; but rather esteem that liberty, when neither the violence of death, nor the power of sin, nor the tyranny of Satan; when neither the gates of Hell, nor the frowardness of fortune, nor the cruelty of enemies; finally, that I may yet speak more confidently in Christ, when neither the very wrath and curse of God, nor the obligatory sentence of the law, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor the whole host of heaven, have any law or power against thee.

The delight of courtiers.—But thou art a courtier perhaps, and thou canst not be without company, or resort of men. Thine old mates and fellows, are sport, play, riot, idleness, and, by your leave, chambering is thy repast! Thou deemest it a gentleman's life to spend whole days and years in dancing, drinking, dicing, hunting, in foolish pastimes, and more foolish talk; and for such a younker as thou art to betake himself to prayer, thou takest him for a doting and frenzy fool! Thou thinkest it an honourable thing to be conversant among great personages; thou feedest thy fancy with an Italian grace, with the Spanish fashion, and the French courtesy, very serviceable in speech, "à vôtre commandement, Monsieur!" Then, if haply it chance that thou art in very good place about thy prince, or wear his coat, or often in his presence, or if by some means thou creepest into his favour, and art known of him, and spoken to with affability, and receivest some commodity at his hands, for this is the end of courtly philosophers, then thou persuadest thyself that thou art in most perfect and blessed joy! To be short, discover this thy whole world unto us, cut out an anatomy thereof, open all the

veins of all the vain pleasures and delights thereof, paint them out to the purpose, amplify them as much as thou list, and imagine that all the felicities of the world lighted together upon one Polycrates, namely, the favour of the prince, the pleasures of the court, degrees of honour, nobility of birth, variety of delights, sumptuous buildings, friends, gold, precious stones, farms, clients, the favour of the commonalty, the contemplation of this visible light, gaming, mirth, victories, triumphs, or whatsoever else of like kind of trash! Let us now lay together and compare the benefits of the invisible world, which make thy soul within thee most happy and blessed.

A comparison of outward good things with inward. The vain felicity of this world.—And that I may begin with that which is most worthily of greatest estimation, namely, the favour of God, the sovereign Prince of all princes, let us call to mind the singular graces springing and proceeding hereof; as a good conscience, peace, life, eternal salvation, joy in the Holy Ghost, patience of mind against all adversity, victory over death, remission of sin, faith the subverter of Satan's kingdom, a confident heart void of all fear, contempt of things present, certainty of things to come, the riches of virtue, and wisdom more precious than all treasure, the repressing of immoderate affections, divers signs and tokens of God's Spirit, the light of reason like unto the sun, whose exceeding bright beams shine through the whole world. Add hereunto also the gifts of learning, and knowledge, and tongues, fixed in this world as certain stars; to conclude, you can see nothing almost in all this world outwardly, the like whereof is not done in that inward world spiritually, yet more effectually; so that this world may be well termed no other than a shadow or dead image of a man, as man is the lively image of God. Finally, since this outward world seemeth to be ordained of God only to the use of outward things, and the other to blessedness and felicity, truly they which gape after far greater abundance than is sufficient and necessary for sustenance of their life, being seduced and bewitched with a preposterous error and false opinion, do haunt after and find shadows for true things, transitory wealth for everlasting joy, and heap up coals instead of rich treasure. For true happiness is no where to be found but in that celestial world of the mind, which not Cæsar, though he were thrice Augustus, or more than a

potentate, nor all the kings and princes of the earth, are able to give thee, as they are not able to take it from thee. It proceedeth only from this one Prince and Lord of all, Christ Jesus, the eternal Son of God.

The glory of Christ doth not take from earthly princes their due honour.—Go forward now, and embrace this present world which thou hast in such great admiration, and addict thyself as much as thou list to the service of temporal princes. I know that christian religion and true discipline gives unto princes their due honour and obedience: neither do I envy or grudge thereat; nay, rather I wish the greater increase thereof, so that it be just, lawful, and right. No man more truly honoureth superior powers than he which doth honour them in the Lord. But if the divine law of God, by authority, admit so much reverence and worship to be given to the potentates of this transitory world, what then is meet that we yield unto Him who so far surmounteth and obscureth the majesty and grace of most mighty monarchs, that they are no otherwise to be counted happy but so far as they truly fear and serve him?

The law abrogated by Christ.—We have now made manifest unto you, that all the tyranny of death is extinguished, and we delivered from the servile yoke thereof, by the means and conquest of this our triumphant Prince. When I say death, I understand also thereby the whole army or violence of mischiefs which any ways annoy our life; both those which were the cause of death, and those also that accompany and follow it. For death, of itself, is nothing else but the punishment and wages for sin, (according to Paul's saying, Rom. vi.) even as the strength of sin is the law. For where no law is, there is no transgression, there the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness of men which withhold the truth in righteousness, Rom. i. And to this wrath we were all sometime subject, being dead in sin, and serving Satan the prince of this world, Eph. ii. under whose kingdom we are all wretched and miserable. For what greater thrall, or more extreme misery, could there happen, than that Satan, troubling and disturbing all things as he listed, should bear all the sway, and alone usurp the kingdom, being not conquerable by any force of nature, or power of prince? All things being thus in a desperate case, the more glorious did the power of this our grand Champion appear, who, with a marvellous victory, and singular overthrow, by

suffering, subdued the enemy, and having vanquished the tyranny of death, by death, opened the everlasting gate of immortality to all that would come and enter therein. Wherefore he, willing to communicate the fruit of this his benefit with all, who draweth all unto himself, crieth in the gospel, saying, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you, Matt. xi. And as he doth accept all sorts of men, in that he inviteth and allureth all: so he excepteth no kind of burden, or grief, who promiseth that he will refresh us in all, and disburden us of them all.

The wrath of God pacified. Satan spoiled. The works of Christ triumphant.—Go to therefore, good brother in Christ, whosoever thou art, that groanest under any burden—acknowledge the voice of Him that calleth thee: and how much the more thou art afflicted, so much the more boldly hasten unto him, who is ready to help all, but especially he came to visit and comfort the poor afflicted. If the wrath of God terrify thee, thou hast there an atonement and peacemaker, who having slain hatred by his cross and passion, offereth unto thee a sure sanctuary to flee unto. If his law touch or sting thee, or the feeling of thy sin disquiet thee, he hath taken away the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, and hath spoiled the principalities and powers, and hath made a show of them openly, and hath triumphed over them in himself, Col. ii. Is the fear and horror of death dreadful unto thee? Death hath now lost her sting in him, and doth now fear thee more, than thou her. But, perhaps, Satan, the worker of all evil thoughts and cogitations, doth not a little assault thee—tush, let him rage and range as long as he list, how can he greatly hurt thee, when his head being bruised and broken, he can but hiss at thy heel? Peradventure also thy faith is shaken and tried, or some other storm of temptation coming from some other source beats violently upon thee, and doth disturb the tranquillity of thy mind. Fight, therefore, and put on the whole armour of christian warfare—or, if the battle be over-hot, and exceed thy strength, yet fall to prayer; or, if thou canst not pray, at the least, sigh and groan unto the Lord. The inward sighing and groaning of the heart, shooting up before the Lord, is a strong and hearty prayer. Thou must strive and labour to do what thou canst and art able to do: but this which thou art able is not of such value of itself, as it is esteemed of God,

who both accepteth and crowneth in us the affection of a willing heart and ready mind, as if it were an action or deed. Otherwise, that which the rigorous justice of God doth exact of us to our salvation, and to the vanquishing of these aforesaid enemies, were exceeding great, too far above thy strength or reach.

But that which thou, seely man, being born of man, wast not able to perform, that, a man born of God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus, hath fully accomplished. He hath fulfilled every jot of the law through wonderful humility and obedience. He hath abated the pride of the world; opened the gates of heaven, which our sinful life had shut up; dispossessed Satan of his kingdom, utterly weakened the power of death, and taken away the sting of sin and torments of hell. Finally, he, performing every point of perfect righteousness, and being but one, answered that for all, which was required of every one.

The singular goodness of Christ triumphant.—And besides that this heavenly Prince hath wrought these and so many wonderful works, with incredible triumph, which do amaze and astonish even Nature itself, it is also to be considered how much more famous and triumphant he is, not only in that he had no fellow or mate to assist him, but in that whatsoever he took upon him, he compassed it, and obtained the victory, not for himself, but for us only and our behalf. Wherein the triumph of this our Monarch seemeth far unlike the victories of other princes, not only in the excellency and value of the things done, but also in the very manner of the doing. For, the victories of earthly potentates, as they are always achieved with cruelty and violence, so are they oftentimes very injurious, but never without great danger and much manslaughter. Whereby it cometh to pass that their triumphs are nothing in the end but a public pillage and misery of the world, wherein, while some do laugh, many weep and howl, neither party deserving so to do, neither the vanquisher nor the vanquished. Now, albeit that upon just cause the war was taken in hand, it falleth out, notwithstanding, in such triumphs, I cannot tell how, that the victory for the most part betideth unto him who did least of all in battle.

For, albeit princes be sometime present in the conflict, yet surely they are farthest from peril, whose, notwithstanding, the victory is said to be.

Far otherwise standeth the case between us and our heavenly Conqueror: for they to whom the matter chiefly appertained, being free from all danger and at ease, sat as idle lookers on another man's labour and pain.

He alone, who deserved nothing, abode all the peril. Who, if he would have vouchsafed, they also venturing themselves to the battle, to have been but a partaker only of their labour, or a captain of their war, or any way but a furtherer of the victory, it might have seemed a rare example in a prince, and a singular affection which he bare unto them. Yet he is not so contented; he standeth not in another man's cause or quarrel only as an idle looker-on, taking heed to himself that he be there where least danger is; no, no, he himself alone ventureth on the pikes, he treadeth the wine-press alone; and, like a most vigilant captain, the rest sleeping soundly, putteth himself alone in danger, not for his friends only, but even for his bitter enemies. Neither doth he win by fighting, but by suffering: and so far he is from violence and bloodshed, that not so much as a voice was heard in the streets, showing thereby to the world a most strange and new kind of conquest.

Howsoever worldlings account of it, seem it ever so blockish or doltish, yet if one put up an injury received, and doth not forthwith render like for like, or one shrewd turn for another, but committeth the matter and the revenge thereof into the hands of God, he most truly may be termed a conqueror. There is no speedier or more glorious a victory than obedience wholly referring and framing itself to the will of the Lord.

In the victory of Christ, what is to be considered.— There is yet another property in this heavenly Champion, not so much glorious for himself, as commodious and profitable for us all: certain, far and wide differing from the example of our common warriors. For, albeit they are sometime conquerors, yet the victory tarrieth not with them long, but they are themselves also at other times put to the foil. Moreover, such is the nature of those things which are won, that they can be recovered again by the enemy, at one time or other.

Finally, if there be any danger in the battle, it is all laid upon the soldier's neck: if there come any profit by the victory, it is not common; but if perhaps any portion thereof be allotted to the many (which is very rare), though

it come hardly and with grudging, yet it may be written and scored upon the walls for very good luck.

All the benefits of Christ belong as well to us as to him.—But the most happy and blessed Champion, himself encountering alone with them who were much stronger than we, so joined incredible mercy and love with his force and power in subduing our enemies, that of the victory he challenged nothing as due to himself, but his sweating, travail, and unspeakable torments—the pillage, spoil, booty, and all the commodity* whatsoever, he would have wholly, and alone, and freely to redound to us.

Wherefore, when we have thoroughly pondered in mind and heart all those things which Christ hath brought to pass in this most happy battle, which truly are above all measure wonderful, let every one, forthwith, thus persuade himself, that the excellency of his prowess, and glory of this victory, is not so much proper to him, as common to us with him. Finally, let us all think thus, that whatsoever was privately compassed by him, is a public benefit for us all: and let us not so much look unto the glory and magnificence of his deeds, as learn the use of them; for, in the former consisteth the praise of Christ, in the other our salvation.

And yet to say the truth, Christ is in nothing more duly or rightly praised, than in the use of his benefits, when we apply them to ourselves for our special comfort, with thanksgiving. Neither am I able to say, whether he more desires to help thee and do thee good, than for his goodness to be praised: of this I am sure, that thou hast more need of his help, than he of thy praise.

Meditation of the cross of Christ.—You shall find many which count the highest and chief point in religion to be the often meditation and remembrance of Christ crucified for us, hanging on the cross; especially if therewithal they with tears lament his pains which he suffered, or with detestation curse the Jews that made him suffer. This their devout and religious affection is not to be misliked or disallowed, which without doubt is very godly. But, as I deny not that a great part of religion doth consist therein, so again, we christians must take careful heed, that we rest not here only, as in the chief ground of religion: but rather take it as a step or degree to a farther matter more properly belonging to our salvation.

* Advantage.

For, the cross of Christ was not therefore erected that thou shouldest be only a beholder thereof, but rather a follower: not to give thee a show, but a remedy, and a daily help for thy necessity. Thou beholdest Christ nailed to the cross: why dost thou not rather call to mind the cause why this most mild Lamb of God did give himself to such great torments? why he rose again? why he ascended up into heaven, there reigning triumphantly at the right hand of his Father? which when thou shalt find, and well understand that they have been all done for thy sake, it shall be thy duty on the other side, to accustom thyself to the wise usage thereof, applying the same to thine own private comfort and commodity.

How we must take profit by the passion and victory of Christ.—But thou wilt demand, how shall I do this? I will tell thee; and may our Lord Jesus Christ give thee his Spirit of all comfort and consolation! Amen. Thou hearest and rememberest, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was crucified on the cross for thy sake. Herein, first, thou beholdest the exceeding love and mercy of God toward thee. Secondly, thou understandest what a horrible thing sin is in his sight, whereof there could be no satisfaction made but only by the wounds and blood of his only begotten Son. Of which two, the former ought to inflame thee with the love of God, the other to keep thee in his fear, and bridle thee from the custom of sin.

But if thou chance to fall into sin, as the infirmity of man's flesh is very slippery, wherein, either the law accuseth thee, or the horror of death casteth thee down, or the examples of scripture do make thee tremble, or thy senses and cogitations of thy mind disquiet and trouble thee—or Satan stir all occasions of terrors against thee, as he is alway at hand to vex such as labour earnestly in holiness and christian religion—here thou hast not only perpetual grace, and pardon purchased for thee, that thou mayest also boldly and gloriously triumph and exult over death, the law, Satan, and thine own guilty conscience; for, by what power and right these evils are overcome in Christ, by the same thou mayest think they are overcome in thee:—but, when thou hast pondered all other things in thy mind, as deeply as may be, yet of all those uses and benefits which we gather and enjoy by the mystery of Christ's passion and triumph of victory, this is the most ample and

most excellent—namely, if thou so apply to thyself all the deeds, virtue, and glory of Christ, as though thou, being wholly clothed with his righteousness, didst now, as Lord of heaven and earth, reign and triumph above with him, and in him for ever,—and as he on the other side, having changed persons with thee (for he beareth the public person of us all) took upon himself the burden of thy sin, the wrath of God, and the whole heap of misery. Whereupon arises immediately great liberty of mind, freedom of conscience, courage, and boldness of heart, likewise a certain majesty of spirit, not only despising earthly things, and things under the earth, but also lifting itself higher than heaven.

Finally, there proceedeth from hence everlasting comfort and joy in God's Holy Spirit, which the holy prophets prophesied, that he should light and come upon those who were redeemed and converted to Sion, Isa. xxxv.

Which gifts, seeing they are proper and peculiar to christians, and of such value that nothing can happen to man more honourable, no not to the angels of God; I cannot but much marvel how it should come to pass that they are so seldom seen, nay almost not at all, in the life and manners of christians. For, whereas you see some drowned in superstition, many as yet captive under the old servitude and bondage of the law: and an infinite number of others setting their whole hearts upon their abundance of worldly muck: what one almost canst thou give me, who either inwardly inspireth, or outwardly expresseth this excellency of a christian heart and spiritual strength in Christ, which before I spake of? Hereof, since there are many causes, the estate of these our evil days and course of this time give me perhaps fit occasion somewhat to touch them by the way.

Why we are so strong in the world and faint in Christ.—The cause therefore that we are so strong in the world and so faint-hearted in Christ lieth not in any defect of the things themselves, which as they are by nature most ample and abundant so are they most certain and permanent; but in the natural corruption and imbecility of our flesh: so that the weak eye of our faith, if it be not lightened from heaven with the sovereign light of Christ, is dazzled with the brightness of the very things themselves, no otherwise

than as our bodily eyes are dimmed at the beholding of the shining sun.

Besides this natural dulness and imbecility, there is another cause, proceeding from the force and power of Satan, who never ceaseth to assault us. And partly our own slothful idleness is also to blame, when we do not foster and nourish whatsoever sparkle of faith or good motion appeareth in us; but being tickled with the good success of things present, or having ourselves fastened upon other matters, or entangled with cares of this world, we withdraw ourselves from cherishing that good motion, and neglect the riches of the heavenly kingdom. And what marvel is it, then, if Christ do not open and show himself unto us, who so disdainfully neglect or reject his kingdom? or what cause have we to complain, if he impart not his blessings unto us, who make more account of this worldly mammon? or if he send not his Spirit of all comfort and consolation to cheer our hearts, who do more rejoice at this transitory world? or if he satisfy them not that do not hunger and thirst? or refresh not them that are not heavy laden or groan under any burden?

The kingdom of God loveth them who seek it, and those that are careful to obtain it. They who are free scholars and followers of this world, have at their pleasure their customs and commodities which they enjoy; but this our King giveth not his riches but to such as have need of them, and, utterly despising this wicked world, follow the Lamb, with a cheerful courage, whithersoever he goeth.

How the gospel must be ministered.—Neither can I well let pass to speak of those who have cure of souls, and charge to minister the word of God unto the people. For, it lieth on them especially, whether the people are duly and truly instructed in Christ or not. And albeit I can give here no general precept which the ministers of God might use continually in instructing such a multitude, especially of such divers minds, fashions, and opinions; for some live so that you shall not well know or perceive whether they more neglect the law or the gospel: whether they reverence and fear God less or man: whether they be atheists or infidels. Other some there are who, giving themselves to all licentious and dissolute living, savour as much of the sweet liberty of the gospel, as swine do of sweet odours. Again, some there are of such a conscience, that the preaching of the law, and the lamentable voice of John,

is not only unseasonable unto them, but a sharp bitter bane, instead of healthsome medicine.

Yet, since that Christ Jesus our Lord is the gift of his most tender and loving Father, shining upon every one indifferently, good and bad, even as the sun is common to us all, I think it not meet or convenient that we should be more slow or sparing in dispensing or distributing this his benefit, than he was in bestowing. If it pleased the Lord God to show forth the exceeding riches of his grace, to ransom us miserable captives from the bondage of the law; to embrace us in his arms; to call us to the common possession of heaven, and all other his blessings—if, being called, it pleased him to justify us; if being justified, to glorify us of his own free love and mercy; certes, for us not to acknowledge that which is offered, is a point of great ignorance; not to take it, it were misery; but to detain or grudge to others that which ought to be most public and common, is either malicious unkindness, or plain theft, especially in a shepherd.

The Law. The Gospel.—I deny not that the terrors and threatenings of the law have their place, especially in these corrupt and wicked days; but as they have their place, so also they have their bounds and limits how far they shall reach. For, great heed and care is to be taken of some (I touch not all) lest, whilst that the princely nation of Christ is kept under the continual discipline of the law, it come to pass in the mean time that it never learn to rise and aspire again to the end of the law, which is Christ, to the fulness of perfect liberty, and to the exceeding joy which the gospel bringeth. Although, perhaps, not their order, so much as the corruption of the people, is here to be reproved; whose life and manners daily waxing worse and worse, are cause why they follow not some other kind of method and order in instructing them. Notwithstanding, whether that ought to be cause sufficient to withdraw the food of the gospel, and continually to beat down the hearers with the threats and curse of the law, I leave it free for every man to judge.

But, in my opinion, they who are admitted to the ministry and function of the word of God ought to hold and follow that way of teaching, whereby Christ, rather than Moses, may be imprinted in the people's hearts. And whereby the riches of God's mercy may be so laid open before their eyes, out of the wonderful treasures of Christ Jesus, that,

like true christians, they may at the last begin to know and acknowledge their good gifts and blessings; and may rather of their own accord be allured to godliness, through the singular commodities which they have received of the Lord, than with austerity, will they nill they, to be terrified, and so compelled. That which is well and orderly done, is then said so to be done, and so likely to remain, when it proceedeth of good-will rather than of constraint.

For, whatsoever is of compulsion, that cannot be of long continuance. Neither surely can it be, but, where Christ is rightly received and printed in the minds of the hearers, there also should accompany him all kind of virtues, new affections, and a clean heart and renewed spirit; so that in my judgment there can be no way found more effectual to discipline and reformation of life, than for every man to acquaint his heart and mind with Jesus Christ, and rightly to receive him.

Contrariwise, where He is not, and hath not his abode, though you rip up all the common places of vice and virtue, and lay on load, with infinite labour, as long as heart can hold, it is all in vain.

I know there are some which will abuse the sovereign grace of the gospel to the fulfilling of their fleshly and carnal lusts; even as the sun shineth upon many perhaps unworthy thereof; neither was God himself ignorant, long before he gave and bestowed the benefit, what would happen. Howbeit, as the infinite number of the wicked did not stay his great mercy and goodness; so now his singular benefit being already given and received, I think it not convenient, that, for the abuse of some, they for whom Christ Jesus shed his heart-blood should be defrauded of their due and only comfort.

Martin Luther's opinion concerning the distributing and preaching of the gospel.—Nay, I will say this moreover, which also is the grave and excellent judgment of Martin Luther, that most singular and chosen instrument of setting forth the gospel of Jesus Christ; if there be but one hearer in the whole multitude, who hath need of cherishing, and the comfort of the gospel, even for that one man's sake, that mild trumpet of the gospel ought to be sounded by him that will wisely and skilfully discharge his function; after the example of the good shepherd, who, having lost one little seely sheep, left ninety and nine, casting all his labour and care how to bring that lost one home again.

For the dispensation of those things is not to be measured by the multitude and number of men, but by the will of God, and by necessity.

Affliction giveth understanding and remedieth many things.—But when we have found out and reckoned up all the causes and occasions why the strength and force of the gospel is so fruitless in the hearts of christians, this is the most principal of all, whereunto as the chief all the other have their full recourse, for that commonly a certain preacher is absent, the most effectual schoolmaster to frame the conscience aright, whom I prefer before all other teachers —I mean trouble and affliction; which only, as it is in the prophet Isaiah, giveth understanding. For, if it be not enough for us that profess Christ's philosophy and religion to have at our fingers' ends only, and in a quick readiness, the places and chief sentences of holy scripture concerning God's justice, power, mightiness, goodness, and his kingdom; or to be able to reason and discourse of them, like rhetoricians, with a goodly grace and gravity, either extempore and without premeditation, or with art and study, unless we are touched and affected inwardly with a lively feeling, or unless we have God breathing in us, unless we inwardly fear him in his justice, quake at his power, and love him in his merciful goodness, then truly that all these things might be done, nothing almost doth help but affliction.

For, how shall he fear God aright who hath never tried the anger and wrath of God kindled against him? who never entering into the battle of christian warfare hath at no time proved either the strength of his adversary, or the greatness of God's justice, or his own weakness and infirmity? Or what occasion shall we have to feel and taste God's goodness, when no affliction doth vex us, when no peril hangeth over our heads, from which his merciful goodness may deliver us? Otherwise, we being in good and perfect health, what need we the physician? we being at heart's ease and in no danger, to what end should we crave and call for a helper?

Why they who are best, are commonly afflicted in this world.—Therefore, as far as I can see, this is the chief and special cause why God hath always trained up and sharply schooled those whom he loved most dearly, with many and troublesome dangers; for, otherwise, such is our nature, that, as it was said of the Phrygians in a Greek proverb, that stripes strike wisdom into them, even so the same may

be verified upon us, who are never more holy than when we bear some grievous cross.

All places are so fraught and full of examples hereof, that we need not fetch experiments from far, or allege the commonwealth of the Israelites, whose stiff and crooked neck would never yield to the Lord's yoke, but when some captivity or other did oppress them. Only the church of Rome shall serve us instead of many; which as long as she was under persecuting tyrants, and sharpened as it were upon a grinding whetstone, she was found, and truly called the only nurse or mistress of all godliness and continency, in whom all the gifts of christian religion, honest life, did most abundantly excel and most brightly shine. But afterward, the case being quite altered, when instead of danger, vexation, and persecution, riches, power, pride, sumptuousness, and all idleness their companion, came in place, and crept into the church. And when bishops, instead of martyrs, began to be persecutors of martyrs themselves; and the strength and force of the gospel decayed and weakened more and more; into what wickedness and abomination that church did run and fall, let every one consider, and judge within himself. I am not able sufficiently to express according to the indignity and heinousness thereof.

These two examples might seem sufficient for my purpose, especially the matter being so plain and manifest. Howbeit this place doth not permit me, although otherwise making haste in the handling of my argument, to let pass England, my dear country, so fitly offering itself unto me to make mention thereof. Of late days, under the blessed reign of prince Edward, of most happy memory, while for a time the church had but breathed a little after the storms of persecution, to what wickedness it fell at the length I should be ashamed to utter, but the thing itself will speak.

Afterward, that which the continual and incessant sermons of the preachers could not amend, that, as it is well known, the persecution sharp and bitter, yet profitable for the church, hath brought to pass. For so we are either framed of nature, or formed and fashioned by education, that except we are wakened, or shook by the ears, and bitten with some adversity or other, we seldom or ever lift up our eyes to the Lord; so necessary a thing is affliction in the church of God, being a most precious and sovereign preservative against the infection of all evil whatsoever. As, on the other side, prosperous success, wealth, and security,

do loosen the joints and break the sinews of all virtue, especially of true and pure religion.

Prosperity without affliction how hurtful to the church. —Let us awhile thoroughly view, as it were out of the espial and watch-tower of Plato, the affairs, either public of all, or private of some; as in monarchs and princes an unappeasable heartburning and unquenchable thirst to war; in courtiers most dissembling flattery and glosing speech, like wind and smoke; in ecclesiastical prelates as great aspiring ambition to bear a princely port, as in any other; among divines and schoolmen obstinacy and frowardness, altogether bent and sworn to sects and fashions, schisms and contentions, and no less rash and hasty in judgment for very small and light suspicions; in the laity and common people all kind of corruption; in handicraftsmen all manner of deceit; both in high and low, rich and poor, an unsatiable desire of gains and excessive care of this world; that I may in the mean time conceal the grosser wickedness of the common sort, as whoredom, drunkenness, adultery, perjury, fraud, robbery, manslaughter, sedition, and such like. From whence, I pray you, cometh this sink of sin, but from our great ease and security, whereby no affliction toucheth us, which might bridle us a little, and keep us in the fear of God and our own bounds? Hence it is that few of us are careful to reform our own manners; all of us are either curious in marking other men's faults, or sharp in rebuking and correcting them; one interpreteth that to be injuriously done, which perhaps is his neighbour's right; nothing pleaseth this man, whatsoever another speaketh or doeth; that man maketh of a mote a beam, of a gnat an elephant; if he see a thing ever so little awry in another, it is made an heinous matter by and by. Another man, he ceaseth not to carp and bark at the good name and fame of his brother in most reproachful and tragical wise, and perhaps of a party whom he never knew, sometimes undeserved, many times even of him that hath well deserved. Another pries and hearkens after what is done even at Cattaye, (China) or the furthermost parts of the world, and is open-eared to all rumours on every side, nothing caring in the mean season what is done inwardly in his own secret closet of his breast and heart.

But how much more meet and worthy of our christian profession had it been—since every one hath his Judge before whom he shall either fall or stand—if with fear and

trembling, according to Paul's counsel, every one took care of his own salvation; so should he have no leisure either to mark other men's vices, or envy their virtues. Then, if any mote be in our brother's eyes which needeth our help, we may so minister unto him and use the matter, that he may both see and say he is dealt with of a desire to amend him, and not to contend with him. For such mild, meek, and merciful dealing buildeth up and edifieth the church of God. But I have too much forgot myself, who, while I study to keep other men within the bounds of their duty, scarce keeping within mine own compass, have strayed, peradventure, farther from my matter than I should or would.

The benefits of Christ towards us.—That therefore I may return again to speak of that from which I have somewhat digressed, thou seest, christian brother, what Christ Jesus hath done and performed for thy sake, who having vanquished the tyranny of death, Satan, and all malediction; who also having cancelled and discharged the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, hath spoiled the principalities and powers, openly triumphing over them by himself, but not for himself. For thy sake only he took upon him and fully accomplished these things; that thou mightest not only freely use them, but of right and duty challenge all his benefits and victory; and hast now not only entrance to the Father, but free access, with confidence and boldness. If any man can purchase free licence to come into the presence of a mortal prince, how doth he rejoice at his felicity in that respect! But how far greater blessedness is it to be admitted into the sight of God, the fountain of all power, whom otherwise no mortal man shall see, and live; now then, since permission is granted us, not only with free liberty, but with boldness also, to come to that dreadful mount and invisible majesty of God, it surmounteth not only all felicity, but it is joined also with a certain rule and dominion. Which, seeing it is such that Christ himself cannot bring us higher, I see no cause, christian reader, why I should hold thee any longer with any larger discourse. Wherefore returning to ourselves, forasmuch as Christ Jesus our Lord hath achieved so many and such wonderful things for our sake, let us see on the other side what is our debt and duty toward him.

Our duties in Christ.—And what is that debt, or duty? Forsooth, if thou have respect to thy neighbour, many things; for love is full of duties. But if thou hast respect

and relation to God, this one thing only is thy duty whereunto thou art bound, howbeit it is very great, only that thou believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, who died for thy sins, and rose again for thy justification.

But here I know how some mutter sore against me, and in a manner charge me either with a new device, or some escape in divinity, as seeming to them to comprehend within too strait a room and narrow bounds, so great and large a matter of our salvation.

My answer is, that, first we speak not here of those things which are referred to our neighbour, but of those which are referred to God. Secondly, I am not ignorant that there are many other things which God requireth at our hands, as love and fear

The works of the law how they are necessary, and how not.—But it is one thing to be required to obedience, another to be required to salvation. For, we must, since we are entered this disputation, proceed in it distinctly and orderly, because of these contentious and troublesome times. Parents require many things of their eldest son and heir, in performing whereof he is said to be an obedient son to his father, but not therefore his heir and eldest son because he doth obey; for that title of eldership and right of inheritance cometh of birth, not of works; of nature, not of manners and conditions. In like manner the obedience of the law in us findeth praise with the Lord, or rather avoideth and escapeth punishment which God else would have laid upon us; but it doth not purchase salvation and eternal life. What place, therefore, nature doth hold in the heir, that same holdeth faith in the case of justification by the gospel.

True faith what it is, and what it doth.—For in this one thing is offered unto us the whole gift of perfect salvation, grace, and blessedness, only that we apprehend Christ Jesus our Lord, the eternal Son of God. Neither let any man therefore think, that this matter, concerning our salvation, is too narrowly and straitly comprised of me, as though I should try to hold a dolphin in a bason, for that I require nothing else hereunto but faith only in Christ. I know that eternal life is a difficult thing, and not proper* to our nature; and therefore I say it consisteth only in apprehending Christ Jesus; for that nothing in this world is hard or difficult, but only faith in Christ. As no man hath ever pleased the Father besides Christ; so in him the Father

* Natural to us.

is so well pleased, that for his sake he dearly loveth all those who are of Christ. Let no works therefore, although ever so godly, puff up a man as if he were pure, or rather not impure and unprofitable even in his most holy works. Christ only is great and mighty, in and through his works. Works therefore properly pertain to Christ; faith properly unto us, which surely is of force before God.

An objection dissolved.—But by this means a window is opened, thou sayest, of overmuch liberty to some who by nature are too much prone and given to all kind of licentious life. Nay, rather, whatsoever is opened here, it is God of his singular mercy that hath opened it; the gospel of Christ Jesus hath opened it; not we, who are but witnesses only and ministers of the doctrine. You must debate the matter with him, if any thing herein displeaseth your judgments. He openeth not the window of wickedness, but the gates of the kingdom of heaven. If any man be of such a froward and ill disposed nature, that of a joyful and blessed door he will make to himself a window, or a way of wickedness, the fault is not in him that doth rightly open, but in him that doth crookedly enter. It was never otherwise yet among men, but that the greater part always did most wickedly abuse the best things. Finally, if all other men whosoever, would abuse this doctrine, and I knew but ten only in the whole world whom this consolation would comfort, I would, to speak unfeignedly, for their sakes testify and profess confidently this I have said.

For it is necessary that this doctrine should be retained and preached in the church; which being of long time hidden from christians, and almost extinguished, the heroical and mighty spirit of Christ, by the ministry and preaching of Martin Luther, hath kindled and raised up again in the church. Yet such is the mischief and misery of these wicked days, through the subtle practising of Satan, that all Christendom is in an uproar by matters of contentions, sects, and schisms, and in the mean time, all regard of that which is the most principal point of our salvation, is set at nought, and almost brought again to utter decay.* But Christ Jesus liveth, the stronger man and mightier, who will never forsake his dear and well-beloved spouse; to whom be all honour, all glory, all triumph, all dominion, in heaven and earth, world without end. Amen.

* Fox clearly discerned that by engrossing the attention on the question of transubstantiation and other similar points, the solemn inquiry, How shall man be just with God? was often kept out of sight.

Very godly and hearty Prayers, upon the mind of Christ's bitter Passion.

O Lord Jesu Christ, the everlasting sweetness and triumph of them that love thee, exceeding all joy and longing, thou Saviour and lover of repentant sinners, who avowest that thy delight is to be among the children of men; and therefore in the end of times becamest man for men's sakes; remember all the foretaste and grief of sorrow, which thou didst endure, even from the instant of thy conception in the human nature, forth on; but most of all when the time of thy most healthful passion was at hand, according to the eternal ordinance which God had purposed in his mind before all worlds.

Remember the grief and bitterness which thou didst feel in thy heart, even by thine own record, when thou saidst, "My soul is heavy even unto the death:" and at such time as thou gavest thy body and blood to thy disciples at thy last supper, didst wash their feet, and comforting them sweetly, didst tell them of thy passion that was at hand.

Remember the sorrow, anguish, and grief which thou didst suffer throughout thy whole tender body, before thy suffering upon the cross, at such time as after thrice praying, thou didst sweat water like to blood, wast betrayed by one of thine own disciples, apprehended by thine own chosen people, accused by false witnesses, condemned wrongfully by three judges in thy chosen city, at the time of the passover, in the flourishing youth of thy body; and being utterly guiltless, wast delivered to the Gentiles, spit upon, stript out of thy own garment, clothed with another's apparel, buffeted, blindfolded, beaten with fists, tied to a post, whipped, and crowned with thorns.

O, most sweet Jesus, I beseech thee, make me mindful of these thy pains and sufferings which thou didst abide for my sins, that I might be discharged and set free from them, and mine atonement be made with thy Father, through thy chastisement. Make me to abhor my so detestable cursedness, which could not be put away but by thy so grievous punishments. Make me to be heartily sorry for my sinfulness, and to eschew my offences, which drew thee to the suffering of so great torments. Make me mindful of thy great love to me, and to all mankind; and let the infiniteness thereof kindle an unfeigned love in me towards

thee and my neighbour. Let this thy unmeasurable goodness breed in me a willing mind, and desire to abide all things patiently for thy sake, and for the truth of thy gospel; and let it engender in me a despising of all worldly and earthly things, and an earnest longing and endeavour to attain to the heavenly heritage, for the purchasing whereof unto me, and for the bringing of me thereunto, thou hast endured these and all other thy most bitter and intolerable torments. Wherefore, I beseech thee, grant me true repentance, amendment of life, perseverance in all goodness, a stedfast faith, and a happy death, through the merits of thy sufferings, that I may also be made partaker of thy blessed resurrection. Amen.

WHAT man is this whom I behold all bloody, with skin all torn, with knubs and wales of stripes, hanging down his head for weakness towards his shoulder, crowned with a garland of thorns pricking through his skull to the hard brain, and nailed to a cross? What so heinous fault could he do to deserve it? What judge could be so cruel as to put him to it? What hangmen could have such butcherly minds as to deal so outrageously with him? Now I bethink myself, I know him: it is Christ!

Art thou He that excellest all the children of men in beauty? in whose lips grace was shed most plentifully, yea, even with God's own hand? Where then is that beauty of thine? where is that grace of thy lips? I find it not. I see it not; fleshly eyes conceive not so great a mystery. Open thou the eyes of my mind. Bring thy Divine light nearer to me, and give me power to look more upon thee.

I see it is Jesus the Son of God, the unspotted Lamb, without sin, without fault, without offence, which took my wickedness upon him, to the intent that I, being set free from sin, might be brought again into God's favour; rise again from my fall; return home again from banishment; and attain to the end for which I was created. That which I deserved, he suffered; and that which I could never have attained unto, he giveth.

O my Redeemer, Deliverer, and Saviour, draw me unto thee, that, being always mindful of thy death, trusting always in thy goodness, and being always thankful for thine unspeakable benefits, I may be made partaker of so great reward, and not be separated from thy body through mine own unthankfulness, so as thou shouldest have been born in

vain in respect of me, and in vain have suffered so many torments, yea, and even most bitter death, of thine own accord for my sake. Amen.

My mind beholdeth thy body crucified for my soul. O that thou wouldst also crucify me with thee, so that I might live, or rather, not I, but thou, my Lord Christ, in me.

Who will give me to die with thee, that I might rise again with thee to life everlasting? Thou diedst for me, that I might live through thee. Thy flesh is crucified, O Christ; crucify thou the power of sin that reigneth in me; that, being stripped out of the old Adam, I may be transformed into the second Adam, to lead a new life, by shaking down and despatching away of all wickedness, unbelief, and tyranny of Satan.

Let thy yoke become sweet, and thy burden lightsome to me through thy cross; that I, following thee willingly and cheerfully, may come to the same place where thou art; that is, to thy most blessed and immortal Father, from whom nothing may ever separate us hereafter. Amen.

Oh most high and singular obedience, wherethrough thou didst submit thyself to innumerable torments, yea, and even to most bitter and reproachful death, because it liked thy Father to have it so!

Oh noontide of fervent love and sunshine never drawing towards eventide! show us where thou feedest in the midst of the day, and where thou shroudest thy sheep from cold? O would to God we might be transformed into that cross of thine, that thou mightest dwell in our hearts by faith, rooted and grounded in charity, so as we might, with all thy holy ones, comprehend the length, breadth, height, and depth of thy cross, which exceed all the strength and wisdom of the world. Amen.

A godly and zealous Prayer, to be said by all poor and distressed Prisoners for all their good Benefactors.

O most gracious God, and our loving Father, look down, for Jesus Christ's sake, upon us thy poor children, with thine eyes of mercy, and let thine ears be opened unto our prayers. We confess, holy Father, that we are not worthy to open our sinful mouths to speak unto thy heavenly

Majesty, nor to receive any good thing from thee, because we have, like prodigal children, mispent thy blessings, and in the whole course of our lives, have erred and strayed from thee and thy holy ways, and thereby have dishonoured thee and given evil example unto others. We confess also, that thou hast justly shut us up in prison, as men unworthy of the liberty and communion of saints, so as we cannot visit thy holy temple, to see the beauty of thy face by hearing thy word, and praise thee in the congregation as they do. O that we had eyes to see, and hearts to lament our sins, that have brought this upon us! Satan hath blinded us so that we cannot see, and hardened our hearts so that we cannot lament. O thou most gracious God and loving Father, take pity on us thy poor children, for Christ's sake, and show thy mercy in sending thy Holy Spirit into us, to destroy this power of Satan within us, and to sanctify us throughout, in bodies and in souls, that from henceforth we may glorify thee with our bodies and souls.

And whereas now, by reason of our imprisonment, we cannot go abroad to labour for our living, we might starve and perish, were it not but that thou, of thy mercy and goodness, hast stirred up many of thy children to relieve us, we do most humbly thank thee for them, and do heartily beseech thee, even for Jesus Christ's sake, to reward them seven fold, and to let thy blessing ever remain upon them and theirs. We beseech thee also for our enemies, that it would please thee to forgive them, and to grant us also grace to forgive them. And whereinsoever we have given just cause of offence unto them, we beseech thee to forgive us, and to grant them grace also to forgive us. And in the good time give deliverance unto us from our imprisonment; in the mean while continue thy goodness towards us, and, above all, grant us patience, and the inward strength and comfort of thy Holy Spirit, and grace to profit daily more and more to amendment of life by thy correction, to thy glory and our everlasting comfort, through Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, thanks, praise, and glory, both now and for evermore. Amen.

Extract from the epistle dedicatory to William Lord Howard, of Effingham.

THE author of this treatise did write the same in Latin, myself maketh it speak English unto you: a most excellent man he was, called Mr. John Fox: a man always devoted and obliged to your honourable name and family; exceeding laborious in his pen; for his learning inferior to none of his age and time; for his integrity of life a bright light to as many as knew him, beheld him, and lived with him; of whose most worthy praise this shall be the brief sum—Few like hath he left behind him.

From Oxford he was sent for to Reigate in Surrey, in that troublesome and dangerous time of Six Articles, to be tutor and teacher of that high and mighty prince, Thomas duke of Norfolk: your right honourable father, likewise, was committed to his instructions.

When Satan's red horse and bloody sword marched forth against the gospel of Christ's kingdom, newly planted in England, wily Winchester (bishop Gardiner) fastened his fiery eyes upon this good man. First, gladly would he have brought him to the field for the bloody and fiery battle; but the speedier favour of that most princely duke sent him away safely into Germany, where in the city of Basil he became a most painful travailer at his pen in the house of Oporinus, that learned and famous printer. Among many other works, this little treatise was there penned in Latin; likewise, there he compiled in Latin his first Martyrology, which he exhibited to the same his princely lord and duke.

When the great nurse of the gospel, the most virtuous queen Elizabeth, had stalled up and chained that Romish bloody Spanish proud genet, then liberty was given again to Christ's white horse, mentioned in the 6th of the Revelation, to conquer and overcome. His bow and arrows that sat thereon, are, and were, preaching and printing: when the preacher cannot be heard and dare not speak, the printer's shafts fly at length and amain. To this service of God and his country Fox returned, and found succour from his most bounteous, most charitable, and most princely lord, who gave him free and present entertainment, and dwelling for him and his, at his manor-place of Christ's church by Aldgate. From that his house, he travelled weekly, every Monday, to the most worthy printing-house of John Day. In that my father's house, many days and years, and infinite sums of money, were spent to accomplish and consummate his English monuments, and other many most excellent works in English and Latin: among the Latin this was one, which I have Englished, and now present to your honourable lordship.

Let it vouchsafe your honour to accept the same from us both: he was always obliged to your name, and so am I: he was sometime a Reigate-man, as chosen into your honourable house, and so likewise I. He the first English preacher that ever came there, but not incumbent; myself the very next English preacher that ever came there, their unworthy incumbent. Howsoever, in this treatise both of us offer divine service unto you, for your spiritual comfort in Jesus Christ. That supreme Lord of all wisdom and power, of all felicity and nobility, bless and enrich you and yours, all your progeny and allies, with his principal Spirit, to your and their great honour's increase in this life, and after this life with the endless triumph of his eternal kingdom!

Your honour's most obliged servant, RICHARD DAYE.

OF FREE

JUSTIFICATION BY CHRIST,

WRITTEN AGAINST THE OSORIAN RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND OTHER PATRONS OF THE SAME DOCTRINE OF INHERENT RIGHTEOUSNESS.

ALSO A FRIENDLY AND MODEST DEFENCE AGAINST THE WHOLE TRIDENTINE AND JESUITICAL CREW.

BY

JOHN FOX.

Translated into English, for the benefit of those who love their own souls, and would not be mistaken in so great a point.

ABRIDGED.

EPISTLE OF THE AUTHOR,

JOHN FOX.

To all afflicted and troubled consciences of believers in Christ.

Being to write this apology concerning Free Justification by Christ, the more I consider the cause that I have undertaken, the more I am inclined to proceed. And again, when I call to mind these times, and how the manners of men are corrupted, there arises in my mind a doubtful wavering, which distracts me several ways, not without some fear joined therewith. That which causes me to waver, is this—lest the greatest part of our people, as the minds of men are apt to catch at the smallest occasions, should contract some licentiousness from this mild and peaceable doctrine of evangelical Justification, to grow the more bold in sinning. From whence I therefore partly apprehend, what the silent thoughts of some men may object against me; who, though they will not deny the things which we say of Christ to be true, yet they will judge them unseasonable for the times and manners of men now-a-days, being so corrupted and infected. Nay, that they are rather hurtful, and open a door to greater boldness and security in sinning. Therefore, that I may answer those men, and give some account of my undertaking, I have thought fit to speak a few things by way of preface.

First; That I am not at all ignorant what monsters of prodigious uncleanness do abound every where at this day; and also I do no less lament the things that I see. And I wish it were as much in my power to procure the healing of these evils, as I am seriously grieved at so great a torrent of all wickedness prevailing daily more and more.

But some will say, Then draw forth and thunder out something from the severe law of God, which may terrify the minds of the people with the healthful fear of God, and the dreadfulness of divine vengeance—which may take away the raging lusts of life, and restrain unbridled boldness, and reduce men into a course of more severe discipline, and reclaim them from wickedness to serious repentance, and drive all men forward, by all means, to endeavour

the best things. But what else do I drive at in these treatises throughout? though not with the same dexterity of speech, and excellency of wit as many men, yet aiming altogether at the same end. For, if we look at the end of things with a right judgment, what is the design of all the doctrine of the sacred gospel, concerning faith, Christ the Mediator, and free Justification by him, but that by setting before men the great benefits bestowed upon us by Christ, and by considering his special favour, the minds of believers being so much more easily inflamed with the admiration of heavenly things, may be won over to a contempt of this world? Though in the mean time I am not insensible, that there are some perhaps of a contrary opinion, namely, that no other way or medicine for rooting out vices, and reforming manners should be used, but to stupify the ears of simple men, by perpetually inculcating of laws and precepts, and dreadful threatenings to stir up terror. Unto whose opinion, as I would not oppose myself, so also I cannot but greatly commend their labour.

But again, neither should they be blamed who teach Christ, nor should the promulgation of the gospel be neglected, because many abuse it. Before the Father sent his Son into the world, he was not ignorant that the world would not receive him, and yet he sent him nevertheless—though he knew that there were many that loved darkness more than light, notwithstanding the true Light shined from heaven, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world, John i.

There never has been a generation so happy, but the worser part has exceeded the rest in number, and always the fewest were pleased with the best things. But I doubt whether such abominable impudence in sinning ever came to so great a height in any age as at this day. Wherefore, I confess, that so much the more their endeavours should be encouraged, who give all diligence for this purpose, and rebuke with sharpness, that wickedness may be purged away out of the christian commonwealth. For what can they do better? But yet Christ should not therefore be expelled from the church. Yea, if I may be allowed to speak freely, I know not whereunto this so great depravation and overflowing of all most abominable iniquities should be imputed, but that Christ, the best instructor of life, doth not so reign in the minds of men, as in right he ought. This world hath its adorers. But Christ also hath his own

miserable and afflicted elect in the world, the care of whom should not be neglected. Therefore, they that are angry at the filthy manners of this life, do well therein; but yet they do not ill, that are angry at the corrupt errors of doctrine, about which, according to my opinion, no less care should be taken than about manners. The prophet is commanded to declare unto his people their sins. True indeed. But again, the same prophet is commanded to comfort his people. Also the voice of the prophet is commanded to prophesy with a loud cry to the cities of Judah concerning the Saviour their King, and his reward, and the saving grace and glory of God, which was to be revealed in that people.

So then, the church hath her prophets—I know and acknowledge it. And again, the divine bounty so dispenses its gifts, that the church has also its evangelists. But now, where is there one of all the prophets that came before Christ's time, but he is found frequently to evangelize something respecting Christ very sweetly, with joyful proclamations? We hear the same testified by Peter; To him, saith he, all the prophets bear witness, that as many as believe in him shall receive remission of sins, Acts x. Wherefore, as those are not to be defrauded of their own praise, who do all they can to bring the brutish minds of the people to a detestation of their own evil deeds, so again it should be inquired into, Whether this is all that must be done? Thou callest them back to repentance, who are running on headlong into their sins, and thou doest well, for it is a great thing. But what will this so much avail, unless Christ also, being received by faith, come together with thy repentance? For thou art not pardoned only upon the account of thy remorse at the remembrance of thy bypast life, but BECAUSE Christ, who never sinned, died for thee.

Yet neither doth he forgive any, but him that repents truly, and from his heart. Therefore, these two must be joined together, and always retained in the church: but so that salvation and justification should be understood to consist principally, not in the life of men, if it were ever so holy, but in the doctrine of faith, rightly taught.

In which matter this whole generation of papists seem to me not a little deceived, who look upon this our christian religion, to be nothing else but a moral doctrine of framing the life, according to the right rules of living. Which, when a man has strictly observed, and thereby gained the

reputation of virtue, and external honesty, they think nothing further is wanting to the complete perfection of christian philosophy; which, if it be true, I scarcely discern what difference there is between us and the ancient philophers. For what sect of philosophers was ever so grossly absurd, but that they esteemed it honourable to contemn those things, with the admiration and desire whereof we christians are so much transported, that we are in the next degree to madness? As that money never makes any man happy. That the end of good, should by no means be placed in honours or pleasures. The Stoics were not ignorant, that no man is wise, but a good man. They saw that nothing was good and honourable, but true virtue, and nothing should be accounted evil but only filthiness. Socrates, in Plato, argues that an injury should not be revenged by an injury; and that the soul should by all means be drawn away from the affections of the body. Moreover that, the soul being immortal, they are not in a deplorable condition, who after having passed their life honestly, depart hence into more blessed habitations. What shall I say of Plato, or of Aristotle, who in his politics, denies that any thing can be pleasant unto men in life, except virtue, in which alone pleasure consists. How holily does Cicero write of offices or duties. Yea those men did not only teach such things, but not a few of them, did also perform great part of their doctrine, both amongst the Greeks and the Latins, especially Socrates, Aristides, Diogenes, Epictetus, the Curii, the Fabii, the Fabricii, and the Scipio's. Whose life, virtues, and famous acts, if we look into, and compare them with the Catacatholics* in our days, O how ashamed may they be at so great a difference as is between them!

And yet, as all these things, so very excellent, profited them nothing to salvation without Christ, so also we should suppose, that in all our virtue, and good deeds, there is nothing that distinguishes us before God from their paganism, unless, besides the condition of life, there be added another doctrine, and profession of religion, which doth not, as the philosophers of old, dispute about virtues only and moral duties, or about placing the chief good in the excellency of virtue or charity, nor makes inquiry about legal righteousness, and civil judgments. But it calls us forth unto deeper mysteries, and instructs the minds of believers

* Opposers to real catholicism.

soundly and solidly, concerning the heavenly judgment of God, his will, his engagement by covenant, concerning the Son of God, and our eternal redemption by Christ, peace, justification, faith, the hope of our calling, the largeness of the mercy and grace of God, salvation and the crown of immortality.

These seem to me to be the principal heads, in which all the strength and nature of our religion, all our peace and tranquillity, and all the way of our salvation and doctrine is contained. I think all means should be used, that this manner of doctrine may be retained in the church, sound and entire.

And this was the chief cause that stirred me up to undertake this defence, wherein I am now engaged. Not that I might open a door of licentiousness to men of unclean dispositions; but that I might lay open unto all godly brethren, and especially to those that are afflicted, the boundless and eternal riches of the grace of God in Christ purchased for us, the glory of the kingdom, the firm and undoubted good pleasure of his reconciled favour.

What if some are of such a perverse mind, that they design to abuse this our peaceable and healthful debate, about faith and the grace of justification, for a defence of their own unrighteousness, and carnal licentiousness? I give them notice, now, before hand, that these things were neither written, nor thought upon by me for them, but only for the godly, whose consciences in this world are burdened and afflicted, to whom I would peculiarly dedicate this work, such as it is, that I might ease and refresh them in Christ, in the great straits of their agonies, with some lenitive of evangelical doctrine, against the ensnaring assaults of Satan.

And likewise, that I might strengthen and preserve them, as with an antidote against the malignity of the pseudo-catholic* adversaries, and the subtle deceits of sophisters; who by an infinite number of books already published, and by hurrying new ones daily into public view, keep no measure, and make no end of writing, that they may subvert the right ways of the Lord.

Now I pray the Lord Jesus, who was crucified for our sins, that according to the unspeakable greatness of his power, whereby he can do all things with his Father in heaven and in earth, and according to his great loving

* Falsely calling themselves catholics.

kindness towards us, that he would fructify our minds daily more and more, by the Spirit of his grace, nourish them by his presence, and confirm them by his power. That he would defend the afflicted cause of the gospel, against the plagues of error, disappoint the attempts of malicious persons endeavouring our destruction, and still disorderly tumults and vain janglings in the church. That he may grant peace to our times, pardon to our sins, strength and victory to our faith, skilful workmen to the church, and dexterity in working and teaching to the workmen; and especially that he would refresh and comfort with the gracious favour of his divine Majesty, the pious and perplexed consciences of believers, combating with death and Satan, or exercised with sharp affliction, for the glory of his own name, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, all glory is due for ever and ever. Amen.

JOHN FOX.

A. D. 1583.

OF FREE

JUSTIFICATION BY CHRIST.

In reading your books, Jerome Osorio,* concerning righteousness, though I had not leisure accurately to trace every particular, on which you have enlarged, yet by what I have collected, I think I perceive whereat you aim. For, according to my apprehension, you are endeavouring, not to strike at some part of christian doctrine of small concern, but to cut the very throat, and extinguish the breath and spirit of the gospel, to besiege the whole state of our felicity, and the castle and chief city of christian liberty, and to pluck up from the very foundation all the munitions† of peace and life. For what other thing do you in all these ten books, whereby you snatch away out of the hands, studies, minds, and consciences of men, and out of the earth, as the sun out of the world, that most glorious light of our Free Justification, purchased by the great bounty of Christ, and confirmed by the eternal covenant of God. Which being taken away, I see not what thou leavest remaining to us, but Cimmerian and Osorian darkness, in which we may grope like blind moles. Which endeavours of thine, though of themselves being vain and frivolous, there is no great cause why they should be feared in their opposition against the invincible force of divine truth; yet, because they strive to withhold from us that which is most excellent in all religion; therefore I thought it was necessary to write, not being provoked by any enmity or hatred against your person, but that I might admonish you both friendly and freely; and so much the more freely, in how much greater danger I see you are entangled, unless you

* Jerome Osorio was a learned Portuguese divine, bishop of Sylves, in Algarva. He wrote several works which were much approved, and among others, one in which the Romish doctrines concerning justification were set forth and defended with much ability, entitled, De Justitia Cœlesti, lib. x. ad Reginalum Polum cardinalum. To this work Fox replies in the following treatise. Osorio also wrote another work expressly against the English reformation, which was ably answered by Haddon and Fox.

† Defences and supports.

return, and endeavour to walk more uprightly according to the gospel of Christ. For think you, that by your deeds, performed as well as can be imagined, and by the steps of your virtues, you can lay for yourself a passage into the kingdom of God? Or think you that any man living in this slippery condition of nature, can root out all his lusts, and utterly cut off all their enticements; and so contain himself within the bounds of his duty, that he can equalize those habitations of eternal glory, with a proportionable dignity of righteousness, or dare promise them to himself upon such an account, unless the bounty of God had freely put this honour upon us? O be not of such an opinion! This is not the way to heaven. Either you must change your mind, or lay down this hope.

Howbeit this opinion seems not to be yours only, but common to you with many, namely, the late school divines, especially those who have a greater veneration for the authority of the pope than the writings of the apostles, and who, being all infected with the same contagion of error, boldly profess the same. But yet all of them do not proceed in the same method. They so frame their notions, that all men may understand they are the professed enemies of divine grace, and our Free Justification in Christ, which they hiss out of the schools, and openly anathematize. Your arguings are somewhat different, though you have undertaken obstinately to maintain the same thing that they do, but you hide the same venom with more subtle artifice, so that it insinuates more easily, and lies less open to rebuke.

You write books concerning righteousness, and those not a few, nor unpolished. When I look on the argument, I see it is honourable and plausible. When I look into your manner of speech, your painted eloquence, and laudatory amplifications, wherewith you adorn the glory, loveliness, and beauty of righteousness, with a tragedian-like sublimity of style, I confess this is not unworthy of praise. For who would not deservedly praise him, whom he sees so inflamed with the praises of righteousness? But if any man look more inwardly, and consider with himself according to right reason, with what mind, for what end, for what pretence, and with what arguments you maintain those parts of righteousness so much praised, and compare them with the gospel of Christ, he will be forced to acknowledge that you are defective in many things. Though you little regard

my censure, yet if you will allow me to speak freely, I will do it according to my duty, and so, that you may perceive that there was nothing less in my design than a perverse inclination to find fault with other men's writings. And yóu have so handled this subject matter, that you appear to be a philosopher Platonical enough, and no bad Ciceronian orator; but not a very evangelical divine, nor skilful enough to plead the cause of christian righteousness.

First, as touching the title of the book, "Concerning Righteousness," I find nothing blameworthy, though the frailty of our nature might persuade you rather to discourse something to us of mercy. Being about to treat of righteousness, you have undertaken a very honourable subject, too weighty for you, and a work indeed very difficult and excellent. For what in the whole nature of divine and human things is more excellent than righteousness? Which seeing it comprehends within its circumference all kinds of virtues, the whole praise of piety, and not only the highest perfection of the law, but also the perfect image of God, it may be found in heaven, but on earth it cannot be found, when you have said all you can. Wherefore, I am ready the more to wonder and consider with myself what secret design you had in your mind, that you have composed books so exquisitely accurate concerning righteousness. If it was that by the trumpet of your commendation, you might make it more acceptable to us, you have therein lighted on a matter, suitable enough for setting forth the riches of your eloquence. But for what purpose or end did you that? Will you say, it was that men may the more evidently behold the beauty of righteousness, and admire it the more? But this has been formerly attempted by Plato, and many academics and peripatetics, and that with no bad success. And who is so void of all natural sense, but, though he is not himself endued with the excellency of righteousness, yet he apprehends in his mind the divine brightness thereof, and greatly admires it, and wishes for it with all his heart; if wishes in this case could do any good.

1. *Inherent Righteousness, unto perfection, can no where be found in this nature.*

I could wish that the integrity of nature, wherein we were of old created, had continued unto the complete exactness of all righteousness; but now in this ruined and

disabled nature, why do you seek after that which we have lost? Rather bring forth something, if you can, whereby we may make up the loss. What can it profit a man already dead, to know the danger whereby he perished? Verily there is more need of a medicine, if you have any, by which you may either comfort him, being destroyed, or restore him to the life that was lost. Yea, this is the thing, say you, which you endeavour in these books disputing of righteousness. For righteousness, as you say, is the only remedy for restoring life, and regaining health; yea, this is the very thing that I chiefly find fault with; not because you write of righteousness. I commend also your praises of righteousness, which are high and copious. Righteousness cannot be praised enough by any man. But there is another thing for which all good men should be angry with you. You present unto us a spectacle, not much differing from that which Origen relates of Celsus and Antipho; who though they wrote very contrary to truth, yet recommended those very books that were against the truth, with the title of "a true saying." After which manner you write indeed concerning righteousness, but nothing can be said more maliciously against true righteousness.

2. *A twofold account of doctrine; one of the Law, and another of the Gospel.*

For as there is a twofold manner of covenant, so also there is of righteousness, proposed in the scriptures. The one consists in precepts and works, under the weight whereof we all, of necessity, fall down to destruction. The other is that of the gospel, which is safe-guarded, not by works, not by observance of the law, not by any performance of duties on our side, but by the sure and only faith of Christ the Son of God. Verily, whosoever, rejecting the righteousness of Christ, whereof I speak, leads us aside unto any other manner of righteousness—he pleads not for true righteousness, but against it; and does not undertake the defence of the law of God, but is a professed enemy of the grace of Christ, and his cross, and therefore does not open, but wholly shuts up all passages to true salvation, and all gates and doors of divine grace.

But perhaps these things that have been said hitherto, are enough concerning the title of the book. By which your prudence may lead you easily to suppose, what should

be judged of the rest of the work. The external form and workmanship is not without beauty, nor unworthy to be looked upon. But when I consider the reasons and force of arguments, when I compare the words and sayings of the scriptures quoted at a strange rate, with the true sense of scriptures, not rightly understood by you ; and also when I take notice of the end and scope of the whole disputation, I am not willing at present to discover to you what I find.

But yet, as of necessity something must be said, I will speak, but only in a few words. If any other man had published these books concerning righteousness, except yourself, I should say to him openly, and to his face, that no man could ever have brought in a greater plague into the doctrine of the general salvation of christians, nor a filthier blot upon religion, nor have done a greater injury to St. Paul, the scriptures, and the prophets, than is manifest in these books. But in writing these things to you, I restrain myself for your sake. What then, should the cause of truth therefore be deserted? Wherefore, to observe my duty in both respects, I have taken this way of prosecuting this design, both less to offend you, and likewise perhaps more to benefit the cause I have undertaken to defend.

3. *How easy it is to err in the doctrine of Justification.*

Seeing that these things and others like unto them, contain the principal heads of all christian doctrine, divines should take special care lest they err in them ; which care, unless they take, there will follow most grievous ruin and perturbation of all things, the foundations being put out of their places. And yet error is no where more easily committed than in these points. Neither is it so strange ; for this animal nature we call human reason, when consulted about the things of God, is most blind, and sees nothing, unless it be illuminated with the better light of divine knowledge shining in upon it. For the right understanding of divine things comes by the Spirit of God, and not by human capacity ; and though the law, and the things of the law, were in some sense born with us, and cleave unto our nature, yet the mysteries of the doctrine of the gospel are not apprehended so easily, for the nature of both is very different. Moreover, you may see many, who following the guidance of nature, and her precepts more than is meet, do teach and dispute of things belonging to the gospel ; just as a philosopher discourses of the principles of nature, or a

moralist of the perfection of virtues, in which they place their chief good; or as a pharisee, sitting in the chair of Moses, would dispute about the righteousness of the law.

But there will be another occasion of treating of these things, if opportunity be granted.

Though you teach us many things in your reasoning about righteousness, yet you scarcely teach any thing to the purpose, and nothing that is profitable for salvation; but on the contrary, that which is very hurtful. For what assurance can there be of salvation, if you shut out mercy, and send us to our own righteousness, as the only way which conveys us to heaven? For all your doctrine of divinity looks that way.

It would take up a long time to rake together out of all your books, those wonderful sayings, which are more than paradoxes, whereby you plead that all the safeguard of our salvation, should be placed in nothing but in the observance and care of righteousness, which if you could as well perform in reality, as you set forth in words magnificently, none were more happy, none more worthy of heaven than you. But now let us suppose that which you would so fain have granted, that heaven is only due to perfect men upon the account of righteousness, and that there is no other way of coming to those blessed mansions, but that which is trodden by the most pure footsteps of good men, and settled in the perfect integrity of works. Now we are not against the deserved praises of righteousness, neither do we withhold from it its rewards. Be it so indeed. But where shall we find this righteousness? Tell me in what country this man of righteous life dwells, who will so direct the course of his life according to this idea of virtue proposed by you, that he fails no where?* Who roots out all manner of wickedness? who refrains himself from railing with his tongue, suppresses the haughtiness, insolence, and madness of an ambitious spirit, and the rashness of a headstrong mind? who crucifies the flesh with its lusts? who, suppressing ungodly lustings, by frequent meditation upon death, brings himself over from all impurity and impiety to the resemblance of Christ? who, separating his mind from the contagion of the body, applies it wholly to the imitation of Christ? who resembles the humility and meekness of Christ, his bounty and benevolence, and his excellent holiness in all respects; and also cuts off all

* All have sinned and come short of the glory of God, Rom. iii. 23.

defilements of the mind, and all the roots of filthiness and impurity? Where will that man be found, who performs these and all other duties of true piety, and so performs them, that nothing in his life seems superfluous, nothing is unequal in his duties, nor defective in his manners? He may be found in the *books* of Osorio; but not in the life, in the daily confessions, or in the holy absolutions of Osorio.

There was of old, I confess, the image of this most perfect righteousness seen and known upon the earth. But that Phœnix hath long since left the earth, and departed hence to heaven, and now sits at the right hand of Majesty, drawing all to Himself;* and I wish that at length he may draw Osorio also to himself. What if the Lord himself, looking down from heaven upon the sons of men, is affirmed in the prophetical psalm, to have ound all their ways to be corrupted and depraved—if the mystical and royal holy psalmist durst not in confidence of his own righteousness enter into judgment with his God, or present himself to be tried by him, and condemns all other mortal men of unrighteousness, without excepting so much as one. Or, if Paul, writing to the Romans, very seriously confirms the same, and stops the mouths of all men, that having called them away from a vain trust in their own works, and convinced them of the vanity thereof, he may bring men over, to the help of the Son of God only, which is placed in the faith of him. If John the apostle, yea and if James, that powerful proclaimer and defender of human righteousness, could not himself deny but that in many things we offend all; will you now rise up after them, being a mortal and sinful man, and dare to affirm to others, that which you cannot perform yourself; after this manner, "That it is either righteousness or nothing, which obtains us the favour of God, and makes us acceptable and like unto him?"†

Is there nothing else, I beseech you? What then? Is faith nothing? Is grace nothing? Is the mercy and promise of God nothing? Do the merits of Christ profit nothing to salvation? so that now there is nothing which reconciles us to God, but the righteousness of works? What! Do you so place all righteousness in works, that you think there is no righteousness of faith?

You think perhaps that the righteousness of faith and works is one and the same, and you make no difference

* The Son of God only was perfectly holy, Ps. xiv.
† Osorio, l. v. p. 21.

between the law and the gospel, whereas Paul teaches far otherwise, who openly and with great fervency of spirit deprecates that other righteousness, which is of works, that he may be found in Him, not having the righteousness which is of the law, but that which is of the faith of Christ, which is of God, righteousness by faith, Phil. iii. Do you not perceive here a manifest opposition between these two: to be justified by the law, and to be justified by faith, yea, and by those very things which Paul removed far away from him, as dung in respect of obtaining salvation—will you pave that only way for us to heaven? And in the mean while, disputing about works, I discourse of these things with you, as if there were any such strength of so great virtues in this life, as could deserve not only the reward of righteousness, but also the name thereof. What will you say, if the most holy performances and endeavours, undertaken in whatsoever manner, by the most perfect men, in this corrupted nature, are so unprofitable to the immortality of life, that they are rejected by Christ as without profit; yea that they are despised and utterly contemned in the sight of God, like a filthy cloth, as the prophet Isaiah witnesses, unless they are underpropped with better grace, and the commendation of faith? What if, in Isaiah, we all are said, and that truly, to have gone astray like sheep every one in his own way, from whom even so great a prophet does not separate himself? What do you suppose should be judged of our virtues and righteousness? You will say, this complaint of the prophet belongs not to all, but only to the Jews who in those times wickedly forsook their duty. But by the same reason you may affirm, that all the diseases, of all men and times, were not healed by the death of Christ, but theirs only, who in those times had gone astray out of the way as lost sheep. But how frivolous this cavilling is, appears evidently by the context of this prophetical prediction.

Whereby, being convinced by sacred testimonies, you see that those merits of our greatest virtues, if they are looked upon in themselves, are far from the perfection of that righteousness, which you clothe with such beautiful colours. Which yet I would not have to be so said by me, nor understood by you, as if those that live virtuously, did nothing aright and praiseworthy in this life. Or, as if the godly works of the saints were not acceptable to God, which God himself hath commanded to be done; for thus you reason

concerning works—that they come not indeed without faith, and the grace of God, but yet so, that when they come, you affirm, that the kingdom of eternal salvation is due to them by the best right; not only as a recompense and reward, but also as a lawful patrimony; as if the promise of salvation depended not on evangelical faith, but on the righteousness of the law; and not on Christ's merits only, unless a covenant of works be joined together with it; or as if faith itself profited nothing for the obtaining of life upon any other account, but that it may procure grace, which may stir us up to the praiseworthy performances of works, by which works we attain unto eternal life.

4. *Faith justifies no otherwise, but upon the account of good works, according to the opinion of Osorio.*

For so your words manifestly signify, where treating of faith, and inquiring why we are said to be saved by it, you add, "Because we obtain the divine protection only by faith, and so very easily observe the precepts of the law, and obey divine institutions."*

And again, in the same place discoursing of the salvation of christians, "Do you ask how a man is saved? Is there another way prepared for salvation, but what is contained in the law of God? none at all."†

Suppose these things were granted which you affirm, that this way which you show is the only way, and the most firmly founded, and also that the same is the most easy, and likewise that there is no other way by which we can come to heaven. Suppose we grant this, yet how canst thou know that thou dost as many good works as are sufficient for a complete obedience to the law? Of old, our first father Adam received but one command, and failed in the performance, and that in paradise, being placed in the highest degree of innocency. What! and thou a miserable mortal man, banished out of paradise, compassed about with so much infirmity of the flesh, having received the law of God, in which so many and so great things are imposed to be performed, and they are so imposed, that he is liable to a curse, whosoever doth not most constantly continue in them all, dost thou stand so firmly, that no storm of temptation can throw thee down at any time?

But what if, having observed all other commands of God exactly, so much as one tittle of the law is neglected by

* Lib. ix. page 233. † Lib. ix. page 232.

thee? Do you not see, that the sentence of the law being pronounced, you are as much in the fault, as if you were guilty of all unrighteousness? And yet you talk to us of no other way to the kingdom of life, but that which is defined by the ministry of the law, and the exercise of charity.

By what scriptures, by what masters shall this appear evident to us which you assert? By Paul? What says he? "This is the mind and opinion of Paul," say you, "that he asserts that all manner of destroying and suppressing of lust is placed in the grace of God, which must be obtained by faith, and teaches that there is no other way of extinguishing and destroying it."* And again elsewhere† "Paul was never the man that disapproved the offices of bounty, as if they were little profitable for salvation, but taught that the only right way to heaven was that which was fixed in the continual exercise of charity, &c."

I know indeed, and confess that all proceeds from the grace of God alone, whatsoever is done by us aright, and commendably, whether in suppressing the allurements of vices, or in observing the discipline of virtue. Moreover that should not be denied, which you well assume according to the mind of Paul, that we obtain this grace from God by faith. Likewise that is not ill said, which you add concerning Paul, that he was never the man that disapproved pious endeavours of exercising charity; seeing he every where extols those very things with wonderful praises. For who knows not, that the excellent discourses of Paul are exceedingly full of very serious precepts and instructions for governing the life; and that they are not in any matter more affectionate than in this, than that all, every where, who profess the name of Christ, should, together with a sincere profession of faith, join holiness of life "for necessary uses."

Suppose this to be most true, as it is indeed; yet it never was the meaning of the apostle, to place our salvation principally in the law, as if he thought that the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, should be measured by our worthy deeds and charity; or proposed heaven to us as fit to be paid for, or sold for the commodities of our works. Yea, when I read Paul's epistles of a far different sense, this seems to me to be the only scope and mind of the apostle—that he transfers all this righteousness, which you attribute to the law, unto faith, and so

* Osor. de justit. lib. iv. page 90. † Lib. iii. page 68.

transfers it, that he shuts out all mixture of works, and leaves only faith in the Son of God, which lays open for us a way into the kingdom of heaven.

He affirms, that, We are justified by faith, without works; and again says, But now, without the law, the righteousness of God is made manifest, being testified by the law and the prophets:* with what words could he more evidently shut out the endeavours and merits of all our virtues from the divine gift of justification?

These things being thus concluded by the weighty authority of Paul, of necessity from thence follows, that there is a twofold manner, or way of being righteous, to be distinguished, as I said, according to the different conditions of both covenants; of which the one belongs to the law, the other is peculiar to Christ. Then both the law and Christ have their own righteousness. For as the law, which is wholly exercised in works of righteousness, endures no unrighteousness, and renders the fruits of righteousness plentifully to those, who persevering in that which is good, have filled up all the parts of perfect innocency, so likewise Christ also hath his own righteousness, much more powerful, and not a little differing from the other; though not so much differing in respect of the matter, yet exceeding much in the manner of dispensing. For the law communicates only to them that work, but Christ communicates perfect righteousness to them that believe, and often also to the unworthy and undeserving, by a singular grace of dispensation. Therefore this righteousness, is properly called "the righteousness of faith." Which is necessarily to be distinguished by us from the other, which is called, "the righteousness of the law." Which they who do not, verily do a great injury to the scriptures, and quench all light of doctrine, confounding both their own consciences, and the consciences of their hearers, so that scarcely any man can certainly know what should be hoped or feared. For they who dispute thus concerning the righteousness of the law, and draw all to that alone, as if there remained no other way to hope for salvation, excepting that which the strict and severe observation of the law brings—I beseech you, what else do those men but leave the souls of men in a doubtful wavering? And by what way those men encourage us to hope, by the same they compel us to fear, and utterly to despair of salvation; seeing that there is no man

* See Rom. iii. 28. 21.

in the world, to whom the daily offences of his life give not much more cause to fear, than his virtues give him to hope.

And what remedy then shall remain for the perplexed consciences of men, if the righteousness of Christ being hid from their eyes, you leave nothing for hope or consolation, but the righteousness of the law? Or with what comfort will you raise up the spirit of a fallen and afflicted sinner, when the law shows what every man should do aright, but can pardon no man what is done amiss? Must you not here of necessity be compelled to leave the righteousness of the law, and presently to appeal to the righteousness of Christ? And, I think, you will not at all deny that. But say you, "Seeing this righteousness of Christ is no other, but that which is the righteousness of the law, yea and the very perfection of the law, therefore it is not necessary that we should make a twofold righteousness, but only one, both of Christ and of the law." It is not difficult to answer to this objection. Indeed it must be confessed, if you consider the things by themselves, and compare the one with the other by a mutual relation, there seems not to be any difference between the righteousness of Christ, and that of the law. Because there is nothing in the law so holy and perfect, but it appears as evident in the life of Christ. But if you consider the efficacy and manner of working, which the righteousness of Christ and of the law exercises in others—if you consider the effect and end of both, there is a great difference. For though Christ is no otherwise just in himself, than the law itself is holy and just; yet this which is called the righteousness of Christ, acts in us far otherwise, than that which is called the righteousness of the law, so that nothing seems more unlike or more contrary.

5. *The difference between the righteousness of the law and the gospel.*

First, as touching the law—what is the nature, virtue, and efficacy thereof is known to every man. That it is of itself a holy and perfect rule and mistress, to teach how to lead the life; being made for this purpose by the most holy God, that creatures might certainly know what they should fly, and what they should follow. As it contains in itself the very rule of all perfection in all respects complete, so it requires perfect obedience in all respects and upon all

accounts; upon this condition, that he that doeth these things, shall live in them. But on the contrary, he that doeth otherwise, and abides not in all, the law pronounces a curse against him, and inflicts the vengeance of death, and heaps up anger and indignation upon him. For by the law the wrath of God is declared from heaven, being justly kindled against all men that are wicked and unjust upon any account.

Whereby it comes to pass, that the law, being itself holy and good, was not given that it should bring destruction, but salvation. But the same being hindered by the infirmity of our flesh, it cannot but kill us, and cannot at all save us by its own means. Not for any default, or tyranny of its own; but by taking just occasion from the refractory rebellion of our flesh, which as it naturally hath enmity against God, so it cannot avoid being contrary to his sacred will, and divine institutions. Hence break forth so many, and such great calamities, that fall upon this sinful nature of ours; hence so many proofs of the divine indignation and anger; hence also that dreadful necessity of dying, which as it passes through all ages and kindreds—which none of the most holy men could ever drive from themselves—verily that one thing proves us all to be guilty of unrighteousness, and that there is not any perfection of righteousness in our most righteous works. For, if the wages of sin be death, it cannot be that there should be any extinction of life where no unrighteousness is seen. Therefore, if the law cannot defend thee in this life with all thy works from death, will the same save thee after death, and restore thee to life, when thou art dead?

6. *Concerning evangelical righteousness.*

Hitherto these things have been explained by us concerning the righteousness of the law, as it is considered out of Christ. Now let us again turn our eyes unto Christ, and consider what his righteousness, without the law, worketh in us. And here a wonderful and most manifest difference between the law and Christ presents itself unto us. For the law, as hath been said, can give no life according to the rigour of its justice, unless to perfect men; therefore it comes to pass, that because it finds nothing perfect in us, being hindered through the infirmity of our flesh, it can give no help, nor work any thing in us but wrath. Therefore, being repulsed by the law, and destitute of the help

of works, let us seek another patron of salvation, whosoever he be, who may help us. But there is none who doubts, that he is no other than Christ the only Son of God; whom we all alike profess through all churches. There is therefore no controversy remaining between us and our adversaries concerning the Author of salvation.

Nevertheless, there remains another ambiguity or question, perhaps not yet cleared enough by divines. For, whereas there is no man but confesses that righteousness is in Christ in its highest perfection; and we have already heard from the law, that there is no fellowship of righteousness with unrighteousness; here some difficulty comes in, how it comes to pass, that the Lord Christ, all whose judgments are most just, can or ought, against righteousness, to favour those who, having forsaken their duty, have turned aside to unrighteousness? For if the law of God, according to the nature of righteousness, cannot avoid condemning those that are guilty of wickedness, some perhaps may ask, How Christ, who does not anything but what is most righteous, can, without the violation of his righteousness, procure salvation to those whom the law of righteousness justly condemns? Or if he do it—how, for what cause, and in what manner, he does it—by faith, or by works? If by faith, whether by faith only, or by the help of works joined with it? If upon the account of works, whether before works, or after works, or in the very works? But if by faith only, without works, hence arises a threefold question: 1. What then do good works avail? 2. What faith that is, and of what sort it is, which is said to justify? 3. Whom this faith justifies? For they must be either sinners or righteous—if sinners, they are either penitent or stubborn—if you say both, you will speak against righteousness, which cannot be well called righteousness, unless it reward according to every man's deeds and merits. But if they are righteous and not sinners, whom Christ helps, what need have the righteous of a Redeemer? What need have the whole of a physician? Moreover, how will that saying of Paul hold true, whereby Christ being made man, is said to have come into the world, not to save the righteous, but sinners?

If any man, in disputing about the doctrine of Justification, should ask these things, what would you answer him? If any man should come to you, who being affrighted in his mind, and astonished at the greatness of his sins, and

burdened with horror of conscience, and almost dead with the fear of the judgment of God, should ask the help of counsel and comfort from you—and of this sort there are found not a few examples in the folds of the Lord's flock—what remedy would you reach forth unto him? Perhaps you will send him to those books of yours concerning righteousness. And what will he find there, whereby his afflicted and cast down mind may be refreshed and recover itself? Will you send him to the law? What will he draw from thence fit for healing his wounds? especially seeing that the law of righteousness can only bring us in guilty, because we have not kept the law; at least it cannot by any means restore righteousness that was once lost, or satisfy the Judge. It remains then, that you should bring the miserable soul of a sinner from the law, in which there appears no hope of defence, unto CHRIST, seeing it is HE only, by whose wounds and stripes we are healed; and who hath taken upon himself all the impieties of us all, that he might communicate unto us his own righteousness. That is very true indeed, and upon that account you and yours are to be commended, who, though you seem not to have a clear sight of the genuine office of Christ, and his divine greatness in procuring our salvation; yet you refuse not to profess his name, and have a certain external reverence of faith.

But at present you have to do with men that are troubled, and to whom it is not sufficient to retain only the name of a Saviour, unless we have also a right understanding of the efficacy of his death which he suffered for us, and of the power that he hath to save, and the great benefits he hath bestowed upon us, and his exceeding great love and goodwill towards us, and the infinite riches that are promised to us in him. Therefore you must proceed further, and help the afflicted minds of the godly, that they may know and believe, not only that there is eternal and durable life in Christ, but also that they may be taught the way, and means, and manner, how that life comes to us, and to whom it belongs, and what we must observe in attaining unto it.

7. *What the power and efficacy of faith is; whom it justifies, and how.*

In which matter there is great variety of sentiments and opinions amongst divines. For, whereas Paul proclaims,

that man is justified by faith without the works of the law, Rom. iii. those men, by their comments, do not explain the most evident meaning of the apostle, but render it obscure. They do not expound, but cavil; so that some take the word faith, not as Paul, for that faith only which is in Christ Jesus, but for another faith which is formed by charity and works. Others interpret that which Paul saith of faith without works, to be understood concerning ceremonial works. Some interpret it of the works of the law in this sense, that those works are undertaken, not by faith, but by the command of the law without grace. Others expound it otherwise; without antecedent works only.

The scope of all which dispute is, that faith being adorned with works, may do something. And on the contrary, that, if works are not joined therewith, it may seem a kind of rude matter, void of life and form, not only unprofitable to purchase righteousness, but a certain dead and destructive thing. Which if it be true, I would ask in what commonwealth, in what church, in whose kingdom, do you coin this new piece of divinity? If it is the church of Christ, that is not yours—it is his kingdom, in which you are only a servant. What? shall not Christ have a free power permitted to him of administering his own affairs, as in his own lawful commonwealth?

And whence is this great boldness in another's dominion, in a church that you never founded, to alter and change as you list, the appointments and institutions of your prince, contrary to law and right? Or, by what authority do you oppose yourselves, but that every man may act in his own possession according to his own right, and freedom of command? What if it seems good in the eyes of Christ to communicate freely the glory of his kingdom, to whom he will? Will you forbid him? What if the most gracious Lord will pay a full reward to those that come to work at the last hour of the day, and make all equal by making the like agreement with them all? Should your eye therefore be evil because he is good?

But now the Lord himself, the Prince and Author of the church, professes in very evident words, that eternal life shall be given to them that believe in his name. What can be said more evident in signification, or more clear to be understood? He that believeth in me, saith he, hath eternal life, John vi. And again, repeating the same in the same words, He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting

life, John i. And, He that believeth in me, though he were dead yet he shall live.* And lest he should seem to testify this of himself, without the consent of his Father, he adds, This is the will of Him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth in him should have life eternal, John vi. Who no less most evidently confirms these things by performances, which he expresses in words, adding also miracles thereunto. For how great a multitude do ye meet with everywhere throughout all the evangelists, who were saved and healed by no other thing but faith only, which relied on Christ. How often do we hear from the mouth of the Lord in the gospel, Thy faith hath made thee whole,† without hearing any mention of works? And what Christ performed to faith, will Osorio attribute that to works? Christ invites unto himself consciences that are afflicted and burdened with sin; Isaiah calls all that are athirst to come, without price or any exchange, to the fountains of Christ, that they may be refreshed, John lv. Osorio will bestow the kingdom, which God hath promised, upon none but righteous men, and eminent good works. I beseech you, according to your righteousness, what excellent good work brought that sinful woman with her in the gospel, out of whom seven devils were cast? What righteousness appeared in the thief on the right hand of Christ, excepting faith only, why he should, after committing so many evil deeds, enter in together with Christ, on the same day into paradise? What else did the woman of Canaan, that was a stranger, bring to Christ, but an importunate cry of faith, so that she carried home, not crumbs, but whole loaves of divine grace? What deserved the miserable woman with the issue of blood, or Jairus the governor of the synagogue, or Zaccheus or Matthew, or other publicans with them, why they being preferred before the pharisees, who seemed so much more righteous, should obtain the benefit of free favour, being so obvious and exposed unto them? There is almost an infinite number of others of the like condition, that may be discoursed of after the same manner, in whom you can find nothing worthy of such great bounty of divine grace, but faith only. Blind Bartimeus cried, the lepers cried, Jesus, Master, thou Son of David, have mercy on us, and they were heard. For nothing cries louder than faith, nothing is more effectual to prevail. Let Osorio also cry, and let us

* John vi. iii. xi. † Matt. xi. Isa. lv.

all cry with the like voice of faith, and we shall be heard likewise. I speak of that faith, which is in Christ Jesus, besides which, there is not any passage into heaven, nor access unto God, nor way of prevailing with God. Therefore, that we may be heard, let us come, and knock, but let us do it aright, that is, by faith and in the name of the Only Begotten. Otherways it is in vain to cry to God, who hears not sinners, but drives them away; who regards not guilty persons, unless they come to the Son, or in the name of the Son. Now by what way we are heard, by the same we are justified. For the divine reward is always joined with righteousness.

Seeing then, all of us mortal men are by nature sinners, and servants of sin, therefore we must see what that is, which makes us of servants free men—of guilty persons, sons—of sinners, righteous. For this is the whole subject of the debate, this is the question on which the whole controversy depends, which is not so difficult to be judged of, if the authority of sacred scripture may prevail upon impartial judgments. For the testimony of the gospel remains sure and eternal, which no mortal man can weaken at any time, instructing our faith thus. As many as received him, to them he gave power to become the sons of God; and that he may teach what it is to receive him, he presently explains the same; to them, saith he, that believe in his name, &c.*

Whereby it appears evidently what it is to which we are beholden for all that splendour and dignity, wealth and riches, yea, and the possession of heaven and life. I know that in those excellent offices of good works, in the exercise of charity, and observance of righteousness, there is great weight, and also great benefit; as I confess also that the law itself hath great efficacy, if a man use it lawfully. Now the use of the law consists in this, that it should bring us to Christ, and be subservient to his glory. But when you have heaped all these things together into one, whatsoever were by God either prescribed to us in his law, or written within us, they are far from restoring perfection to a man's deeds which are altogether imperfect, or to man's person which is wholly destroyed and ruined. They are far from making us of servants, freemen, of slaves of Satan, sons of God, heirs of his kingdom, coheirs of Christ, fellow-citizens of the saints, and domestics of the

* John i.

highest Father. Verily that is not the office of the law, but of Christ: and it is not righteousness, but grace that does this. This is not the efficacy of works, but of faith: which relying not upon works, but being strengthened only by the promise of God, brings us from bondage to liberty, from death to life, adopts us being reconciled unto God, makes us sons of the promise, which is so far from being joined with charity and works, that it reconciles charity itself, and all works of life unto God, and justifies them, without which they could not have place in heaven, in the presence of the great God.

8. *Upon what account, and how, faith justifies fallen sinners.*

Now, because I have demonstrated what the power of faith is, and what it performs, I must of necessity explain upon what account, and for what cause faith procures unto itself such great efficacy and power of justifying—how it is said to justify alone, without works; and what men the same justifies, whether the righteous or the wicked. If the righteous, what need is there of justification or faith, when the law is sufficient? If the wicked, does it justify those that are penitent and converted, or the impenitent and rebellious? If the faith of Christ justifies the penitent, frees them from guilt, and makes them righteous of unrighteous, which you yourself cannot deny, why then do you inveigh against Luther so immodestly and undeservedly? Does Luther either say or teach any other thing? Where does he at any time let loose the reins to sin, or promise liberty to the wicked, or preach justification otherways than to those who being reformed by repentance, breathe after Christ, and join themselves to him by faith? What? Will you shut out those from all hope of pardon? I think not. And what remedy then will you show them? Will you send us to the faith of Christ, or to the sentence of the law, to heal our wounds? What if the law gives no help here, and there is not any other thing in man, that can help righteousness once violated, except faith only placed in Christ, which you cannot deny? And if this very faith brings salvation to none but to those that deplore the sins they have committed, which, together with you, Luther affirms, to what purpose are those outcries against Luther so tragical, and raised without any cause?*

* Osor. De Justit. lib. ii. p. 29.

But now, seeing he never so much as dreamed of these things, neither can you bring forth one word from his many sayings and deeds to maintain your unjust accusation.

9. *An answer to the accusations of Osorio in defence of Luther.*

But now, passing by your reproaches, let us consider the matter itself, and the strength and sinews of your discourse. Do you, who are so great an extoller of righteousness, against all righteousness tear honest and innocent men in pieces with false accusations? For if a man does not attribute unto works the chief efficacy and preeminence in the point of justification, is that a sufficient cause to suppose that therefore he utterly condemns good works? Verily it is unreasonable so to do.

Luther separates charity from faith, and the law from the gospel, and does it not without cause.* But it must be considered where, in what place, and for what cause he does it: not to cause the godly works of good men to be despised, nor to discourage the exercise thereof, but that the *power* of justifying should not be attributed to the *performance* of them. Not that faith should not work by love before men, but that it should not work before God. For it is one thing to work before men, and another thing to work before God. Therefore, one and the same faith acts both ways; but one way before God, and another way before men; for before men it works by love, that it may perform obedience to the will of God, and be serviceable for the benefit of our neighbour; but before God it works not by any love, but by Christ only, that it may obtain the pardon of sins, and eternal life.

By which you see what is the difference between faith and virtue, and wherein they both agree, and how different the working of both is. How faith is alone, without works, and again how the same is not alone; for in the mean while godly works are not therefore condemned, because they are not admitted to the justification of life, but the trusting in works is only overturned. Here then a wise and suitable division should be used, that things may be distinguished by their own places and bounds, lest one thing should rashly rush into the possession of another,

* Luther separates charity from faith, and the law from the gospel, not simply, but in such a manner as things should be distinguished each by their own bounds.—*Marg. note.*

and disturb the order of its station. Therefore, let the praiseworthy merits of the greatest virtues have their own honour and dignity, which no man withholds from them. Nevertheless, by their dignity they will never be so available in the presence of the heavenly Judge, as to redeem us from our sins, to satisfy justice, to deliver us from the wrath of God, and everlasting destruction, to restore us that are so many ways ruined, unto grace and life, to unite us as sons and heirs to God, and to overcome death, and the world. These things cost a far dearer price, than that we should ever be able to pay so many and so great debts by any works or merits, or means of our own. For so great is the severity of justice, that there can be no reconciliation, unless justice be satisfied by suffering the whole punishment that was due. The wrath is so very great, that there is no hope of appeasing the Father but by the price and death of the Son. And again, so great is the mercy, that the Father grudged not to send his own Son, and bestow him on the world, and so to bestow him, that he gives life eternal to them that believe in him. Moreover, so great is the loving kindness of the Son towards us, that he grudged not for our sakes to bring upon himself this infinite load of wrath, which otherways our frailty, however assisted with all the help of moral virtues, had never been able to sustain.

10. *Whence faith hath received its efficacy.*

Because faith alone with fixed eyes looks upon this Son and Mediator, and cleaves unto him, who only could bring about this achievement of our redemption with the Father; therefore it is, that it alone hath this virtue and power of justifying—not with works, nor for works, but only for the sake of the Mediator, on whom it relies. Therefore, that is false and worthy to be rejected with disdain, which some unhappy and wicked school divines affirm in discoursing of charity, that it is the form of faith, and that it cannot, by any means, be separated from faith, any more than the vital soul can be separated from the body, or the essential form from matter, which otherwise is a rude and unwieldy mass. In answering of whom, I think there is no need of many words, seeing that the whole meaning and drift of scripture, if rightly understood—the very end of the law—also Christ, and the instruction of the apostles, and the whole nature of the gospel seem to be

manifestly against them, and wholly to overturn that most absurd opinion, by so many oracles, so many signs, examples, and arguments to the contrary. Now if that be form which gives subsistence to a thing, how much more truly must it be said, that faith is the form of charity, without which all the works of charity are base and contemptible; as again, the form of faith is not charity, but Christ only, and the promise of the word.

"But what," say they, "are not the pious works of charity acceptable to God, being so many ways prescribed unto us, and commanded by him? Are not these also remunerated with plentiful fruits of righteousness, and heaped up with manifold rewards in the gospel? 'I was hungry,' says Christ, and ye fed me; I thirsted, and ye refreshed me with drink, so that not so much as a cup of cold water shall want a reward, when it is given in the name of Christ, besides an infinite number of other things of that kind, which being taken out of the scriptures are enlarged upon to the praise of charity."

Indeed, no man denies that pious and holy works of charity are greatly approved of God, and it is an undoubted truth, that the love of God and of our neighbour, as it comprehends the summary of both tables, and is the greatest fulfilment of the whole law, so it hath excellent promises annexed unto it. Neither is there any controversy between us about that. But when we affirm that charity pleases God, we ask this, How it pleases? whether simply of itself in respect of the very work, or upon the account of faith, and the Mediator? And then, Whether the same charity so pleases, that it justifies us before God, and obtains the pardon of sins, and overcomes the terrors of death and sin, that it may be opposed to the judgment and anger of God? Moreover, whether it hath the promises of eternal life annexed unto it? If without a Mediator and the faith of him, there is nothing which can please God, and it is impossible that works should please him before the person of him that works is reconciled, it follows that charity depends on faith, and not faith on charity. But faith rather goes before love, and is so far from being joined with it for justification, that it also justifies charity, and makes all the works of charity acceptable to God. The matters appear more evident by example. Suppose a Jew or Turk daily bestows great gifts upon the poor with very great cost and damage to his estate; and again, that a christian gives

only a cup of cold water to a thirsty man in the name of Christ; in the things themselves, if merits only be valued, there seems a very great disproportion. But there is much greater inequality in the distributing the reward. Though a Turk bestows many thousands of talents upon the poor, he gains not any thing at all thereby with God. A christian, by one cup, not of wine, but of cold water, loses not his reward; yea, he finds life. What is the cause, but because those things are not valued by MERITS, but by FAITH; not by the condition of the work, but of the worker; not by the price of the thing, but by the dignity of the person.

11. *In justification, not so much the condition of the deeds as of the persons, is regarded.*

See of how great concern it is, that a person should first be reconciled to God. For, unless he be received into God's favour, it is not possible that his works should please him at any time. As in civil and political affairs, it is of no small import whether a son or a servant acts upon the account of reward; in like manner in the heavenly generation there is a great difference between sons and servants, the heirs of God and mercenaries. For one thing is regarded in servants, and another in sons, and their condition appears to be far different. It belongs to servants to be compelled by fear, but they that are sons are drawn by love, and they do so much the more in the performance of their duties, how much the more gladly they endeavour to please their Father. They that serve, go about their business only for reward, and it is given unto them no other ways than according to their merits. Who, when they have done all, remain nothing but servants and unprofitable, they never do any thing worthy of an inheritance. On the contrary, they who are heirs and sons, though they show themselves no less obedient, and observe the will of their Father, yet they do not obey that they may be made heirs by works, but because they are heirs. Therefore they work.

Again, they that are in a servile condition, do not come, but when called by their master, and perform his commands by the impulse of the law. But the case is contrariwise in sons, who have always access with boldness into the presence of their Father, and cry, "Abba, father," performing much more of their own accord than by the incitement of another's prescription. Servants, after they

have done their task, have wages paid them according to their merits, but they receive no reward of inheritance. But they that are sons and heirs, have an inheritance made sure to them. Not according to their obedience, nor by their deeds, nor after their deeds, but by the faith of the promise, and a free donation before all obedience. Concerning which faith, Paul said, It is therefore of faith, that according to grace the promise should be firm to all the seed. Moreover, in those that are sons, it is only the dignity of the person, and not the merits of good life; it is the birth, and not the works, that are regarded. But the case is contrariwise in servants; for it is not regarded what the person is, but what the manner of life. In short, the servant, as Christ witnesseth, abides not in the house for ever. But the son, to whom the house is delivered, wholly and for ever, is never driven out of the house.

And here Christ alone is a Son by nature, we only by the grace of adoption. He by birth, we by deliverance; of which he himself testifies, If the Son, saith he, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed, he, being partaker of his Father's nature, is not made a Son by his life, but is born a Son; we being servants by nature, are not born sons, but are born again, not by works, but by faith.

But by Christ our Deliverer we are changed from servants into sons. Not that we cease now to be the same that we were in this life, sinners, miserable, weak, and mortal, for this transformation from servants into sons, is not so much performed in us, or in the change of our qualities, but chiefly in the love of God to us. For he hath so high an esteem, and puts so great a value on Christ, his only begotten, that with a fatherly love and affection, he embraces all those of mankind throughout the world, that believe in this Son of his; and looking upon them now as sons, adopts them for his sons, out of their servile estate; yea, and makes them coheirs together with his Son. Whence St. Paul said; Ye are not now servants, but sons: and if sons, then also heirs of God through Christ; for ye are all the sons of God by faith, which is in Christ Jesus, Gal. iv.

Whosoever of you are baptized, ye have put on Christ. Ye are all one in Christ Jesus. But, if ye are Christ's, then are ye the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise, Gal. iii. Concerning which also John speaks to this purpose; See what love the Father hath given us,

that we should be called the children of God. And again, presently repeating the same, Dearly beloved, saith he, now we are the sons of God, and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be, &c. 1 John iii.

12. *The absurdities that arise from the Osorian (Romish) righteousness.*

Which things, seeing they are guarded with most sure confirmations of evangelical scripture, hence it necessarily follows, that all this discourse of yours about righteousness falls down from the foundation. For if, as you say, there is no union with God the eternal Father, " but to those who by an exact observation of the law conform and direct all their actions to the will of God, which is the law of equity and rule of justice :" you make us not now to be sons, nor heirs according to the promise, but mercenaries according to the condition of the law. Moreover, by this means also it will come to pass that the promise is sure to no man, in his life-time; which is directly opposite, not only to the mind of Paul, but also to the genuine condition of sons. For who in the time of this life lives so exactly according to the commands of God, that hitherto he has never passed the limits thereof, or knows that he shall not do so in the remainder of his life? Whereby it will come to pass that the mind must needs waver hither and thither, with perpetual uncertainty. Moreover, if it be accounted sure by the word and promise of the gospel, that as many as are ingrafted into Christ are heirs, then the kingdom of God must of necessity be an inheritance. If an inheritance, then it is not a recompense nor a reward, but a patrimony, which is not due to deeds, but to the spiritual birthright. If to the birthright, then the bestowing of the inheritance goes before all deeds. Afterwards pious deeds follow, according to the saying of Augustine, which is no less true than firm ; " Good works follow him that is justified, but go not before him that is to be justified." Wherefore, if that most pure and eternal nature account us for sons, as it was proved above, in whom there is not any stain of unrighteousness, upon the like account it follows that the cause which joins us to God, as sons, the same also makes us just in the sight of God.

But that we may rightly examine what that cause is, first the degrees of causes must be distinguished, of which some are related unto God, and others to men. On God's

part, in the first place, comes his infinite mercy, predestination, election, the grace of the promise and vocation, of which Paul speaks in more places than one. Who hath predestinated us, saith he, unto the adoption of sons by Jesus Christ—whom he hath predestinated, that they should be conformed to the image of his Son, them he hath also called; whom he hath called, them he hath also justified, &c. see Rom. viii.

In the next order follows the donation of his dear Son, his obedience, death, sufferings, merits, redemption, resurrection, forgiveness of sins, Rom. viii. As for those things which proceed from God, there is no great controversy between us. But our opinions differ concerning those things which are called causes on man's part; namely, whether there is one cause only, or more? Whether faith only, without works, or works joined together with faith? And this is the thing about which we now contend, for in these books you so dispute about the righteousness of works, that you suppose faith, only, without these additions, insufficient to perform any thing towards the purchasing salvation; so that it is your opinion, "That this faith of Christ only, if it be separated from the help of works, deserves not to be called the faith of Christ, but a headstrong rashness, an insolent confidence, an impudent boldness, an outrageous madness, an execrable wickedness."* Which sort of words, how little modesty they indicate it is needless here to inquire. But how far they differ from truth, and the inviolable authority of sacred scriptures, it will be requisite to take notice; because at present this is the matter of debate between us.

And first, if you understand it concerning this common fellowship of men with one another, and offices of mutual obedience between man and man, there is no man so unreasonable as to separate faith from the operation of charity in that sense. For thus faith, hope, and charity have a necessary connection. But let the question be applied beyond the public society of human life, to those things that peculiarly belong to salvation, and have a relation to God himself, so that now the cause should be inquired for which gives us a right to the adoption of the sons of God, and which purchases us righteousness before him. Herein Paul, in disputing against you, so far takes away all righteousness from works, and leaves faith alone, that he

* Osor. lib. ii. De Just.

judges him who mingles any thing besides, for the obtaining salvation, to be a destroyer of faith, an enemy of grace, and consequently an enemy of the cross of Christ. For if those, saith he, that are of the law, are heirs, faith is made void, the promise is made of none effect. And also elsewhere, If righteousness comes by the law, then Christ died in vain, Rom. iv. Gal. ii. Thus you hear Paul manifestly asserting what it is that makes us heirs of the inheritance and salvation—not the law, but faith. And that these two are so contrary in the office of justifying, that if the law be admitted, faith is wholly overturned, the death of Christ is made void, the grace of the promise fails.

Now let us compare Osorio, disputing of righteousness, with Paul. He affirms that man is justified by faith without works. Your opinion, on the contrary, pleads that righteousness so much consists of works without faith, that faith does nothing else but prepare for holy works. He, asserting a twofold righteousness of works and of faith, of grace, and of merit, so distinguishes between both, that he sets the one against the other, by mutual opposition ; as if they were things that could by no means consist together, but the one destroys the other. And he makes that evident by the example of the Israelites, and the Gentiles ; of whom those, grasping at righteousness by works, fell from true righteousness: these, because they sought after righteousness by faith, solely and simply obtained it.

You, on the contrary, being neither deterred by their fearful example, nor regarding the apostolical instruction ; and making no distinction between these different kinds of righteousness, seem to comprehend all in that one righteousness of the law, as if the righteousness of faith were none at all. The words of Paul are very manifest, To him that worketh, the reward is reckoned to be, not of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth in Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is imputed unto him for righteousness, Rom. iv. What can any man say more expressly? Afterwards he adds, "freely," denying that it could be imputed freely if it were due for works. On the contrary, Osorio seems to be of such an opinion, that he acknowledges no imputation of righteousness at all. He who asserts that we are justified by the faith of Christ, and not by works ; what does he but remove works utterly from the justification of faith? Your assertion, which

" makes the faith of Christ, if works are shut out, to be no faith, but madness and execrable wickedness,"* brings a gospel, not from heaven, but wholly differing from that which we have received from Paul. Which seeing we are commanded by the apostle not to suffer even in an angel, without wishing him accursed, what may be answered to you in this case I commit to yourself to consider. Paul reasons thus—If of grace, then not of works, otherwise grace is not grace. If of merit, then not freely: for in that which is free there can be no merit or debt.

13. *The arguments whereby righteousness is attributed to works are answered.*

Now it must be inquired, by what arguments Osorio pleads for his opinion. And first he brings that out of the Psalms, The Lord, saith he, is righteous, and loveth righteousness, his countenance beholds the upright. The wicked, saith David, shall not dwell with thee; the unrighteous shall not remain before thy eyes: and thou hatest all those that work iniquity; thou shalt destroy all those that speak leasing, &c.† What is gathered from these testimonies? " That the wicked have no society with the goodness of God. For, seeing God is himself the very law of equity and rule of righteousness, according to which all our actions should be directed, therefore it is his opinion, that it is not possible that he who puts away the rule itself from him, and hates it, should be joined to the same." But what is driven at in all these florid expressions? It is this, " He then that asserts it to be possible that God should approve the wicked, and join them to himself, asserts it to be possible for God not to be God."

These things need no lengthy answer. We grant this to be very true, which you mention from the scriptures, that the rule of divine justice is perfect, and that eternal light cannot endure any thing which is wicked, or not agreeable to equity. But you have not yet proved that those should be called wicked, who, flying to Christ by faith, receive from him the pardon of their sins; who, having their sins blotted out, and all iniquity forgiven, are written by the same psalmist among the number of the blessed; whom God himself, purifying by faith, and pouring his Holy Spirit upon them, of ungodly hath made them godly, and

* Osor. lib. ii. p. 46. † Osor. lib. ii. p. 39.

graciously received them into his favour, for the sake of his dear Son.

And such we were all formerly, as your oration describes; wicked sinners, and all void of the glory of God, before Christ washed us with his blood, 1 Cor. vi. But now, after we are washed from our former filthiness, sanctified and justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God, who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Rom. viii. Those whom God justifies, who shall condemn? Then you go on and deny that it is possible, that God should be unlike himself, to favour wickedness, or make friendship with wicked men of an unclean life. And therefore you conclude we must needs be first righteous, before we are received into the favour of God. Right, but who are they whom you call by the name of just?

If you judge they are such as are defiled with no pollution, or can say with Christ, Who amongst you will prove me guilty of sin? Verily, I confess what you prove concerning the conformity of the righteous unto God, seems not unlike to truth; and that we must needs, all of us, be such, if we would, with acceptance, have to do with that most pure nature of the Divine righteousness, without a Mediator and Redeemer.

But, if you take those for righteous who are righteous by faith, not by life, that is, those whom daily forgiveness, received by faith, brings as righteous into the presence of God, in that sense this debate of yours about righteousness does us no unkindness: for by this means it comes to pass that whom faith daily absolves, you yourself cannot hold to be guilty of any crime. Therefore, if they are not unrighteous, nothing hinders them from being admitted with bold access into the presence of the Divine Majesty, through the benefit of their Redeemer.

But you deny that it is agreeable to the nature of God to account any man worthy of his approbation, except him whom his countenance beholds to be righteous. "Therefore it is necessary that our righteousness should go before the favour of God."* But whence that righteousness should come to us, is all the contention between us. You seem to acknowledge no righteousness but that which the perfection of life procures. We place all our

* Osor. De Just. lib. ii. p. 39, 40.

righteousness in Christ, not in ourselves; in the faith of him only, not in our own works. "What!" say you, "can any man obtain favour from that highest goodness as long as he hates not wickedness, as long as he puts not away iniquity from him, which hath a perpetual war with divine equity?" Who is ignorant of, or denies that? "For," as you say, "how can it be that everlasting law should not hate sin and wickedness with the greatest abhorrence?" At length he concludes, "That it is therefore necessary that whosoever thinks to be received into the friendship of God, must first hate wickedness." Verily there is no man that denies it. But though we should grant that a wise and wholesome, or sound sorrow, whereof you speak, makes the first part of our conversion, and that the true righteousness of faith doth not follow, except some trouble of a penitent mind go before; it doth not therefore come to pass that the very cause of justification should be attributed unto repentance.* For if repentance be nothing else but a grief of mind at the remembrance of sin, it proves indeed that sin went before, but takes not away that which was committed. It declares perhaps some change of mind in him that committed it, but takes not away the punishment that is due to justice. Moreover, repentance testifies that justice is lost, but repairs not the loss thereof. As pain, coming from a wound inflicted, makes not a medicine to itself, but receives it from some other thing, in like manner repentance goes before the remission of sins, but does not cause it; just as Seryphius did not cause the recovering of the city of Tarentum, who, unless he had first lost it, Fabius had not recovered it.

How many may you see in a state, who having violated the public laws, or having been guilty of treason against their prince, being overwhelmed with grief and shame, with all their heart lament the wickedness of their crime, and they do not wickedly in thus being ashamed and repenting. But yet they do not escape the due punishment of the law. Therefore, the detestation of their sin proves them guilty, but does not free them from condemnation. But if there is so great severity of laws and judgments in human offences, which no deploring of ill life can wash away, what then should be judged of these that are committed against the highest and infinite majesty? Angels

* Repentance proves a man to be a sinner, but takes not away sin; it causeth not remission, nor satisfies justice. *Marg. note.*

offending in one thing were not unpunished, having been thrust out of heaven, and no sorrow could restore them again; what then should be said to us in this frail condition of sinful nature, in which dwelleth no good thing, who offend by daily negligence of duties, or filthiness of deeds? Is it sufficient to turn away the vengeance of so great a God, to say, "I have erred," unless there be some other thing besides the sense of grief to help guilty and wounded nature; something which may defend this weak part of our repentance with a stronger safeguard, and may be sufficient to appease and reconcile offended Justice with a proportionable price, and which, so to speak, can contend with Divine Justice by opposing a righteousness equal thereunto? For, as the wound is infinite that is inflicted on our nature, so it is just that a remedy of the like nature should be applied, the strength and greatness whereof being infinite, may, by proportionable greatness, be suited to the Majesty offended; which verily consists, not in repentance, or charity, or any offices of ours, but is contained in Christ only, who is the only begotten Son of God. And because our faith only lays hold on him, and he cannot profit any but believers, therefore it comes to pass, that faith only, without works, that is, without any merits of works, completes all our righteousness before God.

14. *Concerning the praise of repentance, the dignity and benefit, and peculiar office, thereof.*

But you will say, To what purpose then is it to repent and to amend evil deeds? Or what shall be answered to these scriptures, which promise, in more places than one, the pardon of all sins to those that lament their sins, and are converted unto a better life?

I would have you take notice of this in the first place. When we attribute the virtue of justifying to faith, and in this case place it alone, being helped by no addition of our works, let no man so misunderstand, as if we drove away and banished all saving repentance, and other holy offices of duty and charity from every action of life.

For, if we openly confess the truth, what else is this whole life of godly men, but a continual repentance, and a perpetual detestation and condemnation of sin, whilst we are forced by the gospel, with daily groans to breathe forth this petition, "Forgive us our sins," as if we were conflicting in

a continual place of wrestling, in which sometimes we stand by the Spirit, sometimes we fall through the infirmity of the flesh, and sometimes we again make new repentance. Yet we always overcome and triumph by faith, obtaining the pardon of our faults, and we obtain true righteousness for ever. Therefore, away with impudent slanders; let just judgment be exercised, and let things be comprehended, each in their own places and bounds.

Pious tears, a serious deploring of former iniquities, and a just care of living a better life, with all other pious exercises, are things which we do not thrust away, nor put out of their place; only we search what is the place, what is the peculiar office of those things. And, in the first place, this should not be doubted of by any man—that repentance, as it is an excellent gift of God, so it brings forth fruits not to be repented of, according to its office. The office or duty whereof I reckon to be twofold. The first is, that which duly detests the sins committed. The other, that which diligently endeavours the reformation of the life, from which follow both great praise and greater fruits, and also very great incitements to virtue. For he that being weary of his former wickedness, applies his mind wholly to amend his ungodly life by a future reformation, verily he has made a great progress towards salvation; but he is not therefore, as yet, put into a certain possession of salvation, or because of that, taken up with the penitent malefactor into paradise. For it is one thing to weep for the things that one hath done amiss, and another thing to obtain the pardon of them. Verily, he that seriously purposes with himself to amend his life, I judge that he ought justly to be praised; but yet that is not enough, as I suppose, to turn away the anger of an offended God, to put away the heinous nature of sin, to procure a clear tranquillity of conscience, and to shake off the tyranny of death. For to obtain that victory we need another panoply, or complete armour, than repentance, or the forces of our virtues; for nothing that we can do is sufficient to bring this to pass, but only faith in the Son of God. And therefore, repentance with charity, and other offices of that kind, have a necessary connexion with faith; not that they may give form to this as to a dead matter, but that rather they may receive life and spirit from it. Not that faith hath need of these for justification, but that they themselves may be justified by the value received by faith in Christ;

which unless they were recommended upon the account of that faith, would all be abominable in the sight of God; and though they may be called works, yet cannot be called good works in God's account, unless they are supported by faith. Whence Augustine, admonishing not without cause, commands us to believe in Him that justifies the wicked, that our good works may be good works; for those deserve not to be called good, as long as they proceed not from a good root, &c.

But here you object approved testimonies and examples, rehearsed out of the sacred oracles of divine scripture, in which, without any mention of faith, salvation is assuredly promised to them that repent, as in Ezekiel, ch. xviii. I desire not the death of a sinner, but that the wicked should turn from his way and live. There are set before us the examples of the Ninevites, of David, Manasseh, and others; and lest I should weary you, I will make a short collection of the whole matter. You say that "the prophets proclaim, and openly avouch, that there is no hope of salvation showed unto any, but only to those who are with their whole heart brought back from an unclean and wicked life to the practice of holiness," &c. And teach us "that there is no other way at all, either to avert destruction, or procure salvation."*

There is one answer abundantly sufficient for all such objections. Namely, that there is indeed necessarily required a sincere reformation of heart and life, in those who are to obtain life. As in an heir, for whom there is appointed the possession of an inheritance to be enjoyed, there is necessarily required dutifulness towards his father; which dutifulness, nevertheless, when it is most exactly performed, is not any cause of obtaining the inheritance. And, in like manner, there is nothing that can be more certain, than that repentance and renovation do much commend the life of christians to God, yet it makes them not christians; neither does it so much commend the person of the penitent, as it is itself commended by the dignity of the man; who, if he is a christian, his repentance is approved. But, if he be an alien from the faith, the lamenting of sin does not at all profit for the obtaining of righteousness, neither does it take away sin. But, as you say, "Repentance has divine promises," and indeed I am not against your opinion in that, for God does not desire the death of a sinner, and

* Osor. De Just. lib. ii. p. 42.

promises also life to him that repents. That is right. But let us see *how* God promises it, and by pondering the circumstances of things, times, and persons, let us consider what is promised, and to whom, and what is the true cause of promising. Indeed the old law has dark promises, the gospel also has its own promises, as both covenants have likewise their own atonements. But what manner of promises has repentance in the old law? God promises life to them that return from their wickedness. What! does he signify an eternal life, or a temporary peace and felicity of this outward life? If you answer an eternal life, I would then know what difference there will be between legal and evangelical promises? but when I stedfastly contemplate upon the nature and kind of both times and testaments in the holy word of God, and compare the virtue of one kingdom with the other, this seems to me to be the difference between Moses and Christ; that all his blessings and rewards, promised by God to those that lead their life according to the prescription of the law, go not beyond the bounds of a certain earthly blessedness and recompense. In which, notwithstanding, we think there are contained no small benefits of God.

For what could happen to any man in this mortal state, to which we are all of necessity subject, not only more desirable, but also of a larger extent by the wonderful power of God, than when you are, by the singular gift of God, placed in such a country, as by a wonderful fruitfulness, and plenty of all good things, excels all other nations whatsoever; you should then pass your life in it, being compassed about with the divine protection. That you may not only yourself live long in the land, which the Lord your God hath given you, but that it should also be well with your sons after you, through all generations. That you may maintain your state with dignity, and abundance of all the best things, that the adversity of common fortune may have no power over you, that no enemy may annoy you, no tempest may cloud your tranquillity, that no storm of evil things may shake you; that at home and abroad, whether you are in the field, or in your house, going out or coming in, all things may happen successfully to you, according to your heart's desire. And moreover, that God should bless all your wealth, and works of your hands, and that at no time the powerful providence of God should forsake you, unto the utmost bounds of the most aged life. Unto these add

the plenteous fruitfulness of the land, the incomes of fruits and corn, the continual increases of wealth, the constant fruitfulness of cattle, besides other very plentiful promises and blessings of the like kind, whereof there is a long catalogue described in the law, which are appointed for those who inviolably obey the most holy precepts of God, and turn from their sins to righteousness. All which promises, being by the prophets set before the penitent, seem to be of such a sort, that they either signify temporary rewards in this world, and mitigate outward punishments in this life; or if they are referred to eternal life, they do at least imply the faith of a Mediator, by a certain silent condition. And therefore, among divines there are learned and famous men, who rightly and learnedly prove, that the preaching of repentance belongs peculiarly to the gospel and not to the law. For the law preaches damnation to sinners. The gospel preaches salvation to the penitent. Therefore, when the Lord says, Return, and ye shall be saved—I desire not the death of a sinner, &c. it is not the preaching of the law, which pronounces the sentence of condemnation without mercy; but it is the very voice of the gospel.

And this seems to me to be the chief difference between Moses and Christ, that he, being as it were a certain earthly Christ, procures an earthly liberty for the people, and sets before them the duties that are incumbent upon them in leading their lives; so all the doctrine and benefits of Christ are peculiarly and chiefly directed unto life eternal, and call us thereunto, especially from this world. But if we suppose that these legal promises should notwithstanding be referred to eternal life, yet, when they did not pass the bounds of that people only, and reached not to other nations, but to those peculiarly, who waited for the seed promised to them, therefore the promises of the law included faith, at least by a certain silent condition. Wherefore, as touching those legal promises, in which the holy prophets held out unto them that repented, and were converted, pardon and many other benefits, in these must be considered, not only what is promised, but also, to whom the promise is made; being such, as belonged not to others, but those only, who being descended from the seed of Abraham, were contained in the covenant, and had a right to the Lamb slain from the beginning. Therefore, according to the authority of Augustine, we ought always to look

to the root in such promises, and the mind should always be raised up to the Mediator of the new covenant, in whom alone all the promises of God are yea and amen. Which, seeing it is so, and seeing all the promises of eternal life are contained in this only Mediator, Christ, as in the only ark of the covenant, neither is there any faculty given us by God which attains to the knowledge of Christ and the understanding of his benefits, but faith only; therefore it is, that this illuminated faith, which only leads us to the knowledge of Christ, claims to itself only, all power of justifying, without any other means. Not so much because of the dignity of its act, or upon some account of charity joined with it, whereby it should be formed, but only upon the account, and by the virtue of its object, unto which it is bent, from whence it receives all this power of healing. Just as the Israelites of old, when they were envenomed with deadly poison, regained their health, not because they had eyes and a power of beholding, but because they fastened their eyes, at the command of God, upon the serpent, that was set up before their eyes. In like manner also, it comes to pass to us, that whereas it is Christ only, that bestows everlasting life and righteousness on them that behold him, and he becomes not a Saviour, unless he be received by faith, hence the inward sight of faith being fixed upon him, brings salvation. Whence, by evident demonstration, an argument is framed from principles and causes, issuing into conclusions by necessary consequence according to scriptures. As thus,

The beholding of the serpent set up, without any other condition being added, healed the wounded;

Christ is the serpent set up for us to behold:

Therefore, the only beholding of Christ set up for us, (that is, faith in him,) without any addition whatsoever, brings healing to our wounds.*

And I know the adversaries will not deny that Christ is the only serpent, who being made a curse for us, makes a medicine for our wounds. But if you ask, how? They will answer one thing, and the holy scriptures another; they affirm that this is performed, because Christ being punished for us on the cross, hath by his merits obtained for us the infusion of charity. Which, because it is the

* The papists deny not Christ to be a Saviour, but they do not well agree in the manner how he saves. The council of Trent, Hosius, Andradius, Canisius, &c. differ.

perfection of the law, therefore being acquired by the merit of Christ, and received by our free-will, brings forth righteousness, not that whereby we are accounted for just, but whereby we are both truly just, and deserve life. But verily this sophism neither agrees with the history of the Israelites, nor satisfies the argument propounded. For, if those that were then wounded by the serpents, by only beholding the serpent, without any other intermediate cause, received present health; verily either this type bears not the similitude of Christ, or Christ heals us by faith in his name only, without interposing the remedy of charity. Otherwise the mutual proportion of similitude between us and them, between Christ and the serpent, will not rightly agree. They lifted up their outward eyes, we our inward, they to the serpent, we to Christ. Both, by beholding, obtain health through the promise of God; they the health of their bodies, we of our souls. They presently, in beholding at the first sight, were healed in the same moment, by no endeavour of their own, but only upon the account of the object, and by virtue of the promise. And what other thing doth this mystical shadowing forth signify, but justification freely prepared and promised to us, by the sole contemplation of the object, whereby we apprehend Christ by faith? Will you hear the promise? That every one who seeth him may not perish, but have eternal life? And elsewhere, This righteous servant of mine by his knowledge shall justify many. But what is it to see him, but to believe in him? What is the knowledge of that righteous one, but the faith of Christ, which justifies from sin? Therefore, what outward beholding was to them, that the light of faith is to us. What health was to them, justification is to us, whereby we are delivered from the curse of sin, and are absolved without punishment. But if you ask, what way? There is an answer in readiness, namely, according to the very similitude of the serpent, not by any labour of ours, but by contemplation of the object only, and by virtue of the promise. I pray you what is more evident? What more agreeable? And what then should be said to those ill-employed men, who by their new doctrine, translate Free Justification, which is due only to faith, by virtue of the promise of God, unto works of charity.

15. *Of sin and the healing thereof by Christ.*

Those of the Romish faction seem so to contend about

the righteousness of charity, that having almost banished faith out of the city of Rome, they place all the parts of our salvation, or at least the chief, in charity and sanctification. By what scriptures will they demonstrate that? "What!" say they, "doth not Christ heal us just as the brazen serpent healed the wounds of those that were hurt? Were we not all healed by his stripes? Isa. liii. Is not he the Lamb that takes away the sins of the world? Is not he the life-giving serpent, who gives cure for our wounds? And what are our wounds," say they, "but sin? What is the healing of wounds but the putting away of sins? What then, shall the serpent be more powerful in fixing his sting, than Christ in taking it out? Shall Adam be more powerful to infect nature, than Christ to cleanse it? But how is nature purged, if yet the contagion of sin remains? In a diseased body, unless the hurtful humours are purged off, health is not recovered; and the air being surrounded on every side with black darkness, begins not to shine, before, the brightness of the sun being returned, the darkness vanishes. In like manner, in the inward diseases of minds, the causes of maladies must first be taken away, before health is restored. But the causes of evils are sins, which if they are taken away by Christ, how can they remain in the saints?—But if they abide not, by necessary consequence then it follows, that the roots of all sins being cut away, they are righteous in the sight of God by that righteousness, not that which is imputed, but that which is inherent in them, which is free of all spot of sin, which carefully observes the law, which informs the mind with charity, and beautifies it with divine ornaments, and makes us partakers of the divine nature."

That sin is said to be abolished in the adult that are regenerate, is partly true and partly false, with a different respect had to divers circumstances. But how that is understood must be explained. First, as touching the death of the Mediator which brings salvation—there is no defect in that, but it hath abundantly recovered whatsoever perished by Adam. Yea, it hath brought us benefits much greater than the evils which Adam procured unto us. But if it be asked how, and in what order the death of Christ effects this, I answer, not by denying, but by distinguishing. For, seeing two things are considerable in every sin, the guilt obliging, or the punishment of damnation, which Lombard calls passive corruption; and then active

corruption, or the very act of sin, or the infirmity of corrupted nature—therefore there is again a twofold remedy prepared for this twofold evil; guilt obliging to eternal punishment, is not only taken away in the life to come, but also in this life, by the holy laver, and continual remission of sins for the sake of a Mediator.

But the infirmity of sinning, which is concupiscence in the flesh, and ignorance in the mind, also is abolished in the regenerate ; but yet after its own order, and by its own degrees. For it is daily diminished in this life by the renewing of the Spirit, and it shall be abolished in the life to come, by the resurrection of the flesh. In the mean time the relics of infirmity cleave yet to the flesh, as both death and temporal punishments cleave yet to the flesh, to exercise the saints unto combat ; not to condemn them to destruction. Just as the land of Canaan was promised to the Hebrews a great while before they took possession of it. Neither was the frame of this world made immediately in one moment, but the works of God were perfected in distinct intervals of days. So neither is the whole flesh suddenly renewed, but by degrees and daily increase, it is going on unto perfection.

An example may be conveniently taken from him, who being wounded, the Samaritan, Luke x. doth not suddenly cure, but first pours wine into his wounds, washes off the blood, afterwards he adds oil, that he may mitigate the grief, and the wound may begin to cleave together. Then the wound being bound up, he puts the sick man upon the beast, and afterwards leaves him to be cured in the inn. Just so Christ, suffering the punishment of our sins in his body, by remission immediately takes away the guilt from us, pouring into our wounds the gladdening oil of the gospel, joined together with the wine of serious repentance; whereby whatsoever is deadly in the wounds, is washed away with a health-restoring pardon. But the wounds are not yet altogether healed. But health will be complete in eternal life. In the mean time he will have diseases cured in the church by godly exercises, the cross, and constant prayer.—Briefly, if those men desire to know what it is which Christ hath abolished in us by his death, I will say it in a word.

Whatsoever was laid upon Christ on the cross, to be carried away for our sakes—that is taken away from us in this flesh.

Only the guilt and punishment of sin, not the matter itself of our actions, was laid upon Christ to bear upon the cross.

The act or substance of sin, is not wholly abolished by the death of Christ in this flesh, but only the guilt and punishment of sin.

Or, more briefly let them take it thus: Whatsoever Christ, by dying, did bear for us, that alone he took away by his death in this life; Christ, by dying, did bear only the punishment of our sins, not the sins themselves in his body, whereof he had none: Therefore Christ, in this life, took away only the punishment, not the matter itself of sin, by his death. But afterwards, by his power, he shall also take away the whole matter of sin in the glory of the resurrection to come.*

16. *Concerning the necessity of the practice, and care of good works.*

Therefore, in this place something hath been said of faith; and all that manner of righteousness which the divine authority attributes to faith only, without works. From which, just conclusions being drawn, it evidently appears, if I am not mistaken, wherein all our righteousness consists. Not in works without faith, nor joined together with faith, but wholly in faith without works; that is, without the merits of works, or any condition of meriting. For if faith, which is nothing else but an internal and illuminated contemplation, and receiving of Christ the Son of God, receives a free promise of life in him; I do not well see what the good deeds of our life, though excellent, can perform in this part of justification. Yet it does not follow from hence, that the holy practice of good works "for necessary uses," that I may speak with Paul, is not upon any account necessary. Neither is it a reason forcible enough, if any man teaches that no trust should be put in works, that therefore there is no need of any care to do good. For what logic is this? Works should not be trusted in when they are performed—Therefore there is no need to endeavour to perform good and holy works. Or—We are no other ways justified but upon the account of faith which is

* Christ by dying upon the cross did bear only the punishment of sin, but not our sins; afterwards by raising us up again, he will destroy both the punishment and the whole matter of sin in due time. *Marginal note.*

in Christ Jesus—Therefore offices of piety are not necessary in those who are justified by faith. Or, if it were said, That as faith only, not upon the account of love, but of the Mediator, promotes us to righteousness—Therefore, it profits nothing, to repent, and to weep and mourn for sins committed! Or, That it is of no concern after what manner every one leads his life—for so you seem to gather, and not you only, Osorio, but also as many as being like to you, bear an enmity to Luther. And hence such fierce outcries and falsehoods against him. As if he brought in a certain new kind of faith, that was not heard of before, and was unknown in former times: as if he were an example of wickedness, an encourager of slothfulness, a turbulent person, and disturber of religion, who trampled upon all actions worthy of praise, and exercises of eminent virtue, as things of no worth; and condemned pious tears, and judged those men abominable and wicked who wept and mourned for their iniquities; or upon any account lamented the sins they committed! Or, as if he taught a certain new way of salvation, and such a one, as neither requires works of us, nor any sorrow, neither occasions any trouble to sinners; but teaches that confidence alone is sufficient—namely, such a confidence, whereby every wicked and ungodly man may be supposed acceptable to God, though he himself do not at all endeavour to restrain his wickedness, or pretend to any desire after piety, but only so supposes in his own mind, that he is dear to God. That the favour of God is prepared for all, yea for the unclean and wicked, though sin rules and reigns with an universal dominion over them. Moreover, that Luther should think it a great wickedness to lament man's first ruin, or fall, and to fear punishment, &c.* Besides other things of the like sort, no less absurd than false, which being wrested to a wrong sense, are laid to his charge, not that they are really true, but they are purposely feigned, that by any means possible you may render him odious to the ignorant people! But these cunning attempts avail nothing; for the writings and sermons of Luther are publicly known. There are also extant the public confessions of the Saxon churches, first presented unto the emperor Charles, in the diet of Augsburg in 1530. And afterwards in 1551, showed and offered to the council of Trent, in which what they teach concerning the true way of justification, according to the word of God; what they

* Osor. de Just. lib. ii. p. 30. 43.

judge and preach of repentance, and the holy fruits of good works, is set forth ; by all which they do sufficiently defend themselves against your frivolous calumnies, and most vain accusations, so that there is no need of any other defence besides.*

17. *The opposite assertions of the adversaries, against the free imputation of righteousness, produced and examined.*

Which things, seeing they are so, and sufficient defence has been made for those of our profession, let us proceed to that which remains.

We will then first declare the opposite assertions and decrees of the adversaries, what *they* say and judge concerning righteousness, faith, grace, repentance, and works; and next we will compare their opinions with ours ; and both together with the holy gospel of God, that it may be the more evident to the reader, what should be judged of both. And here first comes forth unto us Osorio, none of the meanest champions in this cause, all whose contention against Luther aims at this, to destroy all imputation of righteousness, and to leave no other way of righteousness but that which consists in works, and observation of the law ; and which might maintain, according to the decrees of Trent, that we are not only esteemed righteous, but also are really or inherently righteous in the sight of God, even unto justification. In which way of justifying he does not exclude faith and grace, but he so mingles these together, that the praise itself of righteousness is founded on works, and all else is so subservient, that faith first goes before, that it alone may prepare and make way for the obtaining of grace. And grace afterwards follows, which brings forth good works in us, and then works themselves, perfect, and complete righteousness. For after this manner doth Osorio argue. Righteousness being so described by him, that it seems to consist not at all in faith without works, but in works, which are called works of faith, not of the law. And he denies that it is possible for whosoever has not that righteousness to be received into the favour of God ; relying chiefly upon this argument, " Because that divine nature, being most holy, and most

* The confessions of Augsburg and Saxony which set forth the doctrines of the reformers.

pure, and which can endure no filthiness of iniquity, it behoves him therefore, that would enjoy the presence thereof, to conform himself unto the same image; for there is no communion between light and darkness, there is no union between the holiness of righteousness, and the wickedness of unrighteousness."* He therefore concludes that Luther, and they of Luther's party, do err, "First in this, that they dare assert that sin in those, whom that infinite purity hath united unto itself, by a most holy love, is not wholly removed, nor altogether abolished and plucked up by the roots, nor all its fibres quite extirpated. And also, that they affirm that a law is laid upon us by God, which cannot be kept. In the one of which the Divine clemency and bounty is distrusted: in the other, abominable reproach is cast upon his infinite power and Godhead."†

18. *Concerning righteousness, and its definition given by Osorio, and others.*

Osorio defines righteousness, that "it is a state of soul founded on the law of God," and that "it bears a clear resemblance to the immutability of the divine virtue." In like manner also Andradius not much differs from him. "Righteousness," saith he, "is an unmovable equity and government of mind, which measures all its actions and counsels by the law of God." And the same again presently; "Righteousness is a habit of mind fashioned by the divine law, to obey that divine law and will, as it persuades to perform the offices of every virtue," &c.‡

Herein is your error, that whereas there is a twofold and divers sort of righteousness set before us in scripture, the one which is of the law, and peculiar to God; the other which is of faith, and peculiar to us; you are so taken up in defining the one, that you do not at all touch upon the other, about which the chief matter of controversy is here. And so you proceed in setting forth the perfect excellency of the Divine righteousness, and justly so indeed to be accounted of, that in the mean while you leave no righteousness to man at all. For what righteousness shall man have, if righteousness be so strictly defined, that it cannot consist but of works of perfect righteousness, nor be communicated unless to perfect men?

For now, seeing no men are so perfect in this world but

* Osor. lib. ii. p. 31. † Osor. lib. ii. p. 34—39.
‡ Andrad. de Just. lib. vi.

that this miserable depravation of our nature is far from this exactness, and there is none, as Augustine witnesses, as long as he is in this life, who pretends himself to be just in the sight of God—by necessary consequence it follows, that either there is no righteousness of ours at all in this life, or it must be another than that which your definition thus circumscribes to us; for thus you define it; "That it is an excellent state of mind, conformed by the Divine law, founded upon Divine prescription, free from all wickedness, and coming near in its resemblance to the Divine nature."* And indeed in that state we were created in the beginning. But we have lost it long since, neither are we yet perfectly restored, but we shall be restored at length by the divine power and bounty of Christ, on the day that this our corruption shall put on incorruption, and this mortal body shall rise again to immortality. In which state of resurrection we believe with Augustine that we shall fulfil righteousness, that is, we shall have complete righteousness. "In comparison of that resurrection," saith he, "the whole life that we now live is but dung," &c. And where now is that excellent habit of mind, coming so near in its resemblance to the divine nature? Where is that constant equity of reason, and moderation of mind free from all sin? Or what do you think of this life, which Isaiah calls a filthy cloth, and Augustine calls dung, if it be compared with that which is true righteousness?

Whereby may be evidently discerned, as I suppose, what comes of this famous theological theory of righteousness. For, if there is no way of entering into the kingdom of life but by righteousness, and no righteousness, according to your opinion, can consist but of a perfect observance of the divine law, and dignity of works, what follows then? You must either deny that we are sinners in this life, and assert that we are righteous by works; or if, according to scripture, you confess us to be sinners, you must despoil us of all righteousness, and shut us out of the kingdom of God. And what will you say to Augustine, who esteems all the righteousness of this life as dung? What will you say to Isaiah, who says it is as a defiled cloth? What will you say to Paul, who accounted it as loss? What will you say to Christ, who calls them that acquit themselves most righteously, not only servants, but also unprofitable servants?

* Osor. lib. v p. 114.

If the scripture evidently testifies that every man is a liar—if the beloved evangelist condemns him for a liar, who would seem to himself to be free from sin—if, according to the testimony of Paul, we have come short of the glory of God—if, as James testifies, in many things we offend all—if most holy men, in prayer, cry daily, Forgive us our sins—if Augustine manifestly denies that any man, even after he hath obtained the remission of sins, hath lived so righteously in this flesh, or that he doth live so righteously, that he hath no sin at all—if with one mouth the public consent of the most approved fathers testifies the same—if moreover continual private confessions—if conscience itself, which is as a thousand witnesses, convince even thyself that thou art a perpetual sinner, darest thou, who art a sinful man, confuted by thy own works, dream yet of the righteousness of works, and promise heaven to thyself, and others, by works? And does not the example of the pharisee in the gospel, Luke xviii. affright you, who, having been deceived by a false opinion of his own righteousness, and who, whilst flattering himself that he was not like other men, was yet so far from that which he persuaded himself concerning himself, that he went away worse than those whom he most despised in comparison of himself? But how much more modestly would you behave yourself, if with a humble meekness restraining that insolence of spirit, you would either frame yourself to the example of David, who durst not come forth into the presence of God, or would put on that most humble mind of Tertullian, who comparing his life with another man, "Thou art a sinner," saith he, "like me, yea, a less sinner than I, for I acknowledge a preeminence in my sins." At least you might and ought to be admonished by the sharp rebuke of the Laodiceans, who when they had highly flattered themselves with a false persuasion of their own righteousness, which they took upon them by works, did not in any other thing more displease the divine judgment. Therefore Augustine said right, "Let no man flatter himself: let man take sin, which is his own, and let him leave righteousness to God."

But what is the leaving righteousness to God, but abandoning all righteousness of works, to confess ourselves to be that which we are, sinners, and God only to be just? Which also Saint Paul more evidently confirms in these words, To declare his righteousness, that he may be just,

and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus, Rom. iii. In which, a twofold manner of righteousness presents itself unto us; of which the one is divine, and is attributed to God only; the other is only referred to men. The first therefore, is peculiar to God, the other is called "our righteousness;" but what difference is between this and that, there is no great difficulty to discern. For that which is the righteousness of God, appears evident in all his works, and the perfect exactness of his holiness. But that which is the righteousness of men, is received by faith only; not that faith in acting is wholly without works, but because in justifying, works do nothing before God, and that is it which the apostle seems to intend in these words: saying, For this purpose, that he may be just, and the justifier of him, that is of the faith of Jesus Christ, &c. For this purpose, saith he, that he may be just. How is he just? by faith? no, but by works; that thou mayest be justified in thy sayings, and mayest overcome when thou art judged. But now, What way are we justified? by works? Not at all, but by faith. Concerning which the apostle saith, A justifier of him who is of the faith of Jesus Christ.* He said not, Him that behaved himself well by working—but, Him that is of the faith of Jesus Christ. Whence, a disciple being witness, whosoever shall believe in Christ with a direct and intent faith, it follows by necessary consequence that this man is esteemed righteous, and is justified before God. For otherwise, to what purpose should God be said to justify us by faith, or what need would there be here of any mention of faith at all, if holy works, of themselves, were sufficient to make up a righteousness?

All which being thus deduced and confirmed, it is easy to understand what should be judged of your definition. For if there is no other righteousness, but that which by your definition is placed in holy works, and a perfect obedience to the law of God, it thence follows, that either we are not tainted with any sins at all, or that we must necessarily confess that we are excluded "from all possession of righteousness." Both of which are false; for though sin and righteousness, in respect of one and the same thing, through a mutual antithesis, whereby they are opposed one against another, cannot come together, yet nothing hinders, but we may be sinners, and also righteous upon a

* Psalm li. Rom. iii. God is justified one way, and men are justified before God another way. *Marginal note.*

different account. You will say, How can that be? If you know not, I will tell you, and, in a word, that you may understand the more expeditiously. We are sinners in ourselves, we are righteous in Christ. Hereunto belongs the mystery of Christ the Son of God, given to us by his Father, that he, with all his works and benefits, may become wholly ours, for our right and for our advantage. So he is said by the prophet to be born; so he is said to be given, not for himself, but for us. So he was righteous, so he fulfilled the law, so he died and rose again, that his life might be to us righteousness, his death might be redemption, and his resurrection might be life and glory. Moreover, whatsoever is Christ's, yea, whatsoever Christ is, is not so much his own as yours, and as mine, and as it is all ours who by faith are Jesus Christ's. Therefore our salvation consists of the redemption purchased by another, and not of our own works. For herein shines forth the more than stupendous mercy, and unspeakable grace of a most tender-hearted God, that he even dedicated his only begotten Son wholly to our advantage, so that whatsoever was performed by him was performed, not for his sake, but for ours. Neither had it respect to him who had no private need, but it redounds as a public good to us all, because he sustains the public person of all before his Father. Wherefore, if you desire to know what is our righteousness, Paul and Peter will show it to you much better than in the Romish definitions. For our righteousness is Christ, our righteous Lord, through whose name as many as believe in his name, receive remission of sins. What more, I pray you, would you require unto perfect righteousness, than that sins may never be imputed, and that the punishments due to your sins may never be inflicted on you?

19. *Concerning inherent and imputed righteousness.*

But perhaps it is not enough to you, that the sins you committed are not imputed to you, but you desire that nothing may be committed, which may be justly imputed. And for that cause you think no man should be reckoned among the just, but he whose life, being upon all accounts untainted, is conformable to the perfect rule of the law, having abolished the footsteps of all sins. And indeed that should be wished for, if wishes in this case could do any good.

But if those things cannot be kept by us which are commanded by God, that comes not to pass through any default of his, but through our default; who being at first created by him very good, brought this disability upon ourselves, and threw ourselves into that state of sinning. And then, what if it so seemed good to his omnipotent wisdom, to do thus for a declaration of his own righteousness? as St. Paul teaches, Rom. iii. for this purpose that he should be righteous; that is, that his righteousness might by this means become the more evident through our unrighteousness, which could not otherwise have been, unless he only had been declared to be righteous, and we upon the same account unrighteous, according to works. Which if it had not been so, what need had there been why he should justify us by faith, whom he had seen to be righteous and perfect by works?

Yea, you say there is very great need of faith, and you add a reason: "Because all the means of destroying and restraining lust consist in the grace of God alone, which must be obtained by faith; and there is no other way showed to extinguish and destroy it. Therefore faith, as you say, prepares the mind for righteousness, and makes it fit, that the great Author of all good things should bring into it the seed of righteousness."*

But does faith nothing but prepare us for righteousness? And now, what way does it prepare? Because, say you, the grace of God is obtained by faith and the merit of Christ. What follows? "For it is God only, by whose almighty power and bounty we break the force of lust, and restrain all its importunity, and maintain the perfect offices of virtue," &c. Who ever denied, that it is God only that can do those things? But is our whole salvation and righteousness in the sight of God, contained only in driving out of the mind those little heats of all evil lusts whereof you speak, in abolishing the roots of all vices, and in maintaining duly and constantly the office of perfect virtue?

20. *How far the works of human life are from the perfection of righteousness.*

But now, Do you yourself perform all these things, which you require in us for the perfection of righteousness? Hath the great Husbandman watered the happy ground of your mind, with so great a vigour and verdure of his

* Osor. de Just. iv. 90—105.

bounty, that no wild vines or briers do anywhere appear in all your life? That no lust draws you aside from your duty? No perturbation of affections throws you down from your state of constancy? No concupiscence of the eyes defiles the purity of your mind? What if a man is accounted unchaste before God, if so much as his eyes are adulterous; if he is next to a murderer that is so much as rashly angry at his brother; if he that calls his brother Raca, or bespatters the name of his neighbour with the smallest reproach is in danger of the council, Matt. v. what shall be said to him, who hath poured forth so much virulency and gall of bitterness? So that I need not go through all the precepts of the divine law, as concerning loving God above all, concerning the strictest love to our neighbour; concerning shunning offences, putting up with injuries, praying for enemies; the abdication of this world, the framing the life to a dove-like simplicity, and other such like things. Which things, seeing they are so various in kind, and so difficult to observe, we may ask of you, not what ought to be done, but what you yourself do express in deeds? Not what the divine grace is able to do in you, but what it does in effect? Whether he heaps you up with so many and such great gifts of his, that you are able to perform all things, that are written in the royal law. Which if you can avouch so to be, I willingly congratulate your happiness, and am not at all against your obtaining by way of merit that which your works do merit, but that you may go up to the kingdom, and may take yourself unpinioned wings, as Arnobius saith, wherewith you may go happily to heaven, and may fly to the stars, where you may reign with Christ; and you only, all other sinners being shut out, may overcome with God when you are judged! But in the interim here it comes into my mind to ask you a thing, How will this consist with that which the church sings in a holy hymn, and sings so aright: "Thou only art holy?" For how shall he only have the praise of that thing, as saith Jerome, which he hath common to himself with many? What if you think there is no difference between his righteousness and ours; and you suppose there is no righteousness but what proceeds chiefly from works; either let your life show to us the same works which Christ wrought, or if you cannot, let him only have the honour of this title, that Christ only may be righteous, and Osorio may confess himself to be unrighteous and a sinner; that now the

saying may truly have place here, which just now I cited out of Augustine, " Let man take sin to himself, which is his own, and leave righteousness to God."

But, you will say, What then, is there no righteousness which belongs to men? It is not denied that there is ; but it is such a righteousness as must be sought elsewhere than in works. But you may say, Where then? Not only I, but also St. Paul will tell you, The righteousness of God, saith he, to all, and upon all that believe. And again in the same epistle ; The Gentiles which followed not after righteousness, laid hold on righteousness, namely, the righteousness of faith. On the contrary, Israel which followed after the law of righteousness, attained not unto the law of righteousness. Why so? Because they sought it not by faith, but as by the works of the law. And writing to the Galatians, Knowing, saith he, that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, we also believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Jesus Christ, and not by the works of the law, because no flesh shall be justified by the works of the law, &c. Who is so dim-sighted but he may clearly see what the meaning of the apostle is in these words? Wherefore, it is the more to be wondered at, how great a stupidity darkens the minds of some of our own countrymen, and especially those jesuits, who in a thing so perspicuous yield not unto apostolic authority, so that they seem to have sallied out of some Trophonian den, for no other purpose, but that waging war with St. Paul, they may differ wholly from him in their opinion. For what things can more fiercely encounter than such an opposition as this—Christ is our righteousness? Faith is imputed for righteousness? If of work, then grace is not grace? The just lives by faith?* And after this manner doth the apostle and prophet instruct us. What say they? We are justified by works, and yet grace is no less grace. The just doth not live by faith, but the believer liveth by the righteousness of works. And whereas Paul doth so attribute our righteousness to faith only, that he attributes nothing to works, so often repeating these exclusive words—without works, apart from works, not according to works.† If it is grace, then it is not of works. That I may be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is of the

* 1 Cor. i. Rom. iv. xi. Hab. ii.
† Gal. iii. 2 Tim. i. Eph. ii. Tit. iii. Phil. iii. Rom. iv. ix. xi.

faith of Jesus Christ. To him that believeth in Him that justifies the ungodly, faith is imputed unto righteousness. Also placing Jews and Gentiles as in a scheme, that by experience itself it may be evident how hazardous it is to seat the hope of salvation any otherways than in the faith of Christ only. On the contrary, those men overthrowing all these sayings of Paul, endeavour this only by all the means they can, that they may measure the whole sum of our justification by the performance of works, and not by faith; that they may take away all imputation of the righteousness of another from us; that faith may no more contribute any thing to righteousness, but that it may render us worthy and fit, on whom the divine grace should confer freely for the merit of Christ the first infusion of inherent righteousness.* By which new qualities being received for the merit of Christ, now man himself, by that inherent righteousness, as their words express it, merits a greater and fuller righteousness, reconciliation and adoption, and at length life eternal! Moreover, they proceed so far that they assert there is no righteousness at all, but that which is peculiar to every man, and they so define it, that in all the nature of righteousness there is no place at all for faith, and there appears not so much as any mention thereof. For thus they define it, "The righteousness of God, which is revealed in the gospel, is a virtue in God, which distributes to every one according to their deserving." Alphonsus adds, "Evangelical righteousness is an equal proportion of merits to rewards."†

Will any man suppose that those who profess such vile and absurd things have been exercised with serious meditation at any time in the holy scriptures? or that they have not rather bestowed their whole time and understanding in heathenish and Aristotelian trifles? But now it will not be amiss to take notice with what props of reason they confirm these their opinions.

21. *Against the Jesuits and their arguments, whereby they confirm inherent righteousness out of Aristotle.*

What, say they, have you not at any time read that form of reasoning in Aristotle? "He is righteous—therefore he is endued with righteousness. Such a man

* Concil. Trident. Sess. 6.

† A definition of righteousness according to the Jesuits of Cologne. Censur. Coloniensis, 186. Frat. Alphonsus Philip, iv. p. 34.

is learned—therefore he hath learning?" We have read it, say they, in the topics of Aristotle. That is true, indeed. But have ye not also at any time read in the epistles of Paul, these forms of speaking, Christ is our righteousness? We are made the righteousness of God by him; faith is imputed unto righteousness; the just shall live by faith?* What then? Shall we believe Aristotle more than Paul? "We believe fishermen," saith Ambrose, "not logicians." And should we translate our faith which we owe to God, with faithful Abraham, unto men that are sophisters?

But lest those jesuits should say that they are not answered, let us look more nearly into the force of their argument, and pierce them through with their own dart. They "deny that ever this external attribution was heard of since the world was; that a thing should receive a name extrinsically from qualities, that can be within, so that they should be accounted righteous before God, not by inherent qualities, but the righteousness of another, namely, Christ's, which is applied to us by faith," &c. And indeed this reason, taken out of Aristotle, might perhaps be of some force, if they had omitted these words, "before God." But seeing there is a twofold and diverse righteousness, the one which is called the righteousness of the law, the other which is called the righteousness of faith; and seeing the judgments of God and the judgments of men differ, they foolishly and ridiculously argue from human things to divine, from the righteousness of the law to the righteousness of faith; for men are not justified in the sight of God upon the same account that they are esteemed righteous before men. Yea, oftimes it happens otherways, that those whom this world does most cry up, and judges to be just by their inherent qualities, God condemns the same men of unrighteousness, chiefly out of those very same qualities: and so on the contrary part. This may easily appear evident by the example of the pharisee and the publican, if either of which were to be valued according to the inherent merits of their life, what cause was there, why the publican should go home more righteous than the pharisee?

Even as with a like diversity the scripture sometimes names those dead, whom human philosophy would judge to be alive, and in perfect health. Suffer ye, saith Christ,

* 1 Cor. i. 2 Cor. v. Rom. iv. &c.

the dead to bury their dead. But pray, how dead? unless they were alive, they could not bury their dead? What shall we then say? that the scripture lies, in calling those dead, who were alive? Or does that jesuitical rule rather lie which judges those alive by reason of their inherent qualities, whom the scripture calls dead?

How shall these things, so contrary to one another, agree together—but that it is one thing to live, to be dead, and to be righteous before God, and another thing before men? The books of holy scripture are full of such examples.

Have ye not read these words of the apostle in the holy scriptures of God? By the disobedience of one man many were made sinners; and again, by the obedience of one man many shall be made righteous. What is the meaning of these words, By the disobedience of one many are sinners? Again, By the obedience of one many are righteous? Does this attribution seem internal, or rather external? Was that rebellion peculiar to Adam, or was it ours? If it was ours, how was it ours, but by external imputation? What! when you hear these words of the apostle, He made Christ to become sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him, &c.? 2 Cor. v. Did either receive from qualities that can be said to be within? he, that he was made sin, or we, that we are called and made righteousness through him? Moreover, when the publican in the gospel is said to have gone to his house justified rather than the pharisee, what was the cause why the one went away justified, and the other went away unjustified? It came not so to pass by a habit of inherent righteousness, but upon this account rather, because the publican confessed his own unrighteousness, therefore of wicked he is made righteous; the other, because he seemed righteous to himself, through a false opinion of his own righteousness, was manifested to be unrighteous, according to the testimony of holy scripture. The righteous man no sooner speaks than he accuses himself; and in another place, Confess thy sins, that thou mayest be justified; therefore that saying of Augustine seems worthy of praise, "This is the true way to perfection, if every man acknowledge in truth, and confess in humility his own imperfection." And Bernard spake no less to the purpose, who bids us consider the pharisee praying, "He was no robber, nor unjust, nor an adulterer, nor careless of fastings,

nor unmindful of the poor, nor unthankful to God—what then was wanting? This one thing was wanting, that he took no care to know what was wanting to him, but made the most of his own merit, and therefore returned empty. On the contrary, the publican, who emptied himself, and took care to bring an empty vessel, received the more plentiful grace."

By these things I suppose it is sufficiently evident, what this righteousness is, and of what sort, which makes us righteous before God; whether it is Christ's or ours? If it is Christ's, it is not ours: how then of works of our righteousness? If it is ours, it is not Christ's: how is a man of wicked made righteous? "If of wicked he is made righteous," that I may speak in the words of Augustine, "what are the works of wicked men? Let the wicked man now boast of his works, I give to the poor, I take nothing away from any man, &c. then thou art in this thy boast wicked, and thy works are none." It is a false opinion, which men plead for, that a man cannot be called righteous by an external righteousness. Be it so, indeed, that no man should rightly be called righteous, but upon the account of righteousness—what then! seeing Christ is our righteousness, is there not sufficient cause upon that account why we should be called righteous? Should any man require a better righteousness than that which is Christ's? And what form of expressing, though external, can hinder, but that the righteousness which is peculiar to Christ, may also be called ours, and may be common both to him and us; especially seeing he is wholly ours with his merits, virtues, benefits, and all his goods? which qualities, though they are not properly in ourselves, yet being received from him, they pass likewise into our possession. As the bodies of the planets, though dark of themselves, yet they shine and are made bright, not with their own, but another's light, being enlightened with the light of the sun; just so it comes to pass to us, that we are made righteous, kings, priests, sons and heirs of God, not by any property of our nature, or condition of works, but because the Son and heir himself is said to be made sin and a curse for us, not for any sin inherent in him, but imputed to him.

For the end of all this controversy is, that we should search for a righteousness, which is no moral human virtue, but which is a spiritual grace and gift of God;

which is not ours, but which is proper to Christ, whence he only is called holy and just, and we are called justified in him, not upon the account of works, but faith, which God imputes for righteousness unto them that believe in his name. And hence it is rightly called, The righteousness of faith, and therefore faith itself is righteousness; whereby we are accounted righteous before God, being endued not with that external righteousness, about which these men philosophize, but being beautified and adorned with a peculiar and internal righteousness, which being so, who sees not that it is false and sophistical which these men take out of Aristotle; that we are justified by works, or else we should upon no account be called just?

What can any man do more justly, or more holily, than to believe in the only begotten Son of God, and to embrace him with all his faith, as the gospel bears witness? This is the work of God, that ye should believe in him, whom he hath sent. And what doctrine is more excellent, than to know Christ the Son of God aright, and the power of his death and resurrection? Which knowledge, how much it is valued by God above all other disciplines and arts, may appear by this, which is foretold unto us of Christ by the divine prophet; and my righteous servant, saith he, by his knowledge shall justify many. What if our justification is placed only in the knowledge of the Son of God, and the faith of the Son is nothing else but knowledge divinely inspired? what credit then should be given to those jesuitical sophisters, who neither admit of any external cause of justifying, nor acknowledge any other but this, which they themselves place in works?

Thus they dispute concerning the righteousness of Christ, "Because it is not our own, but is peculiar to Christ. There is no cause why a man should take upon him the name of righteous, from that righteousness, which is another's; according to the law of Aristotle." Which how frivolous it is, and contrary to the faith of the gospel, it will not be difficult to demonstrate by very clear words of scripture; for, to what purpose is the Divine Love preached in the gospel, and in the prophets, to have given Christ his only begotten Son unto the world; unless he had been willing to make us partakers together with him of all his wealth, virtues, merits, and whatsoever good things belong to him? Whence Paul says, He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him

freely give us all things? What if Christ was given to us by his Father, poured forth, and is wholly made ours, with all his goods and gifts, is there anything in him, whether wisdom, or justice, or sanctification, or life, or victory, or death, or any other thing besides, which we may not by a due right lay claim to as our own? If it is ours, upon what account then do those sophists preach that it belongs not to us? Of which thing we may reason thus.

Whatsoever Christ did for us, is esteemed ours, just as if it had been done by ourselves.

Christ fulfilled all righteousness for us.

Therefore all the righteousness of Christ is ours by faith, just as if it had been fulfilled by us.

22. *It is confirmed by the example of Adam, that Christ's righteousness is ours.*

Perhaps this will appear more evident by example. Let us look upon Adam, and in him let us behold the public calamity of our nature; and also let us contemplate salvation restored again by the second Adam, from the ruin received by the first.

For, if the doctrine and force of contraries be the same, according to philosophers, it will be more easy by that means, from the evil of the one, to judge of the advantages of the other. Then let us compare both Adams with one another, the first earthly of the earth, with this second, heavenly from heaven. Who, though in their whole nature they are most different one from another; yet by the singular wisdom of God, it so comes to pass, that there is a wonderful resemblance between things that differ very much, and the reason of our salvation being restored, agrees most aptly with the reason of the ruin received.

First, in this, that both were originally princes, and authors of our propagation, one of the earthly and the other of the heavenly. And then afterwards there was added another thing in which Adam was a wonderful type and image of Christ who was to come a long time after. How that came to pass we shall very well learn of Paul himself. As, saith he, by the disobedience of one man many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, many shall be made righteous. And he doubles the same again and again in many words. As, saith he, by one man sin entered into the world, and by sin death came upon all men, in that all have sinned, &c. And presently, If therefore, by the sin of

one man, death came upon all men to condemnation, in like manner, by the justification of one man, good is propagated unto all men to the justification of life. What is more clear than these words of the apostle? The whole force and sum of the argument drives at this—That the true nature of our righteousness is not due to our virtues, but we must be beholden for it to the merit of another.

In short, no way will be sufficient that you may shake from off your neck what you drew from Adam, or that you should attain that which is in Christ, that is, that you should appear righteous in the sight of God; unless Christ come unto your succour another way, than by any of your endeavours how great soever. You will say, After what manner is all this? No man can tell you better than St. Paul. For after what manner the former Adam ruined you, after the same manner the second Adam, Christ, restores you. That first author of your kind, whilst thou wast not yet born, killed thee in the root by his, not by thy rebellion, and drew thee into misery and destruction. In Adam behold Christ; for in like manner, being born and having died for thee, by his own innocency, not by thine, he hath restored thee again to true innocency and paradise. As therefore the transgression of Adam was imputed to thee, who didst not sin after the similitude of his transgression; so the righteousness of Christ is imputed unto thee, who didst not work after the similitude of Christ. In the one of whom behold the severity of judgment, in the other the excellency of grace. What if this perhaps seems hard and strange to any man in Adam, that I should suffer the punishment of another man's sin, and that those should be punished for the crime of another, who committed nothing. For it must needs be another man's crime; seeing I am deprived of righteousness, not for my own fault, but for the fault of my parent. Let this same man again, leaving Adam, cast back his eyes upon Christ. In whom the bounty of a most plentiful clemency makes amends for the severity of the former judgment. For from one man death passed upon all, on them also who sinned not; and justly, though I do not so much regard merit here, I only consider the manner of the thing. Come then, let us compare the type with the antitype; from the disobedience of one man, as I said, death passed upon all men, who sinned not after his example; which is a thing that cannot be denied. After the same manner again, from the

righteousness of one man, life is communicated unto all, who did not like him work righteousness; which is agreeable by the like reason, for otherwise Christ could not agree to his type. Here now consider, whosoever thou art, christian reader, whether the judgments of God in Adam should be more dreaded by thee, in which the severity of God imputed unto thee, being not yet born, that which thou hadst not committed—or whether mercy in Christ the Lord, should be more loved, who, to thee, not working, but believing in him that justifies the wicked, imputes the righteousness thou didst not deserve.

By which you see, if Paul the apostle should be credited, how unworthy of any credit your doctrine is, whereby you take away the grace of all imputation, and leave no righteousness beside to miserable sinners, but what every man purchases by his own good deeds; which how true it is, let us examine by that place of Paul, which convinces you of a shameful error by this most evident argument.

Argument.—After what manner Christ was made sin for us, after the like manner we are made the righteousness of God by Christ.

Christ was made sin for us no other way, but by imputation only.

Therefore, we are made righteous before God no other way but by imputation only.

What will you say to this so clear evidence of manifest scripture? Do you not see that you are tied on every side with bonds that are apostolic and wholly of adamant? Now what turning, what hole to escape at, can you find? Christ is made sin for us. Wherefore? That we might be made the righteousness of God by him, saith the apostle. Will you deny it? I suppose you will not. What way then was he made sin? Will you say, By committing it? No. By imputation then? Certainly it is so. Right indeed. If he who knew no sin, is made a sinner before God, by the imputation of the sin of another; shall not we, who are by nature unrighteous, in like manner be made righteous before God, by the same dispensation of mercy and imputation? What can hinder but that as the rebellion of one was imputed to us all to destruction, after the same manner the obedience of one may be imputed to us all for salvation? Consider what you should answer in this case, not only to me, but also to Paul. That this may be more clear, first, you see this common and fatal necessity of dying,

whereunto all mortal men are liable ; which, with the same foot, beats at the gates of king's palaces, and at the doors of poor men's cottages. Now I would know of you, whence this cause and necessity of dying had its first original, and began to make havoc? Whether through our fault, or the fault of another? You will say, Not through our fault. What if death had snatched yourself away in your infancy, you had then deserved nothing yourself; and yet, were you not born on that condition that you should die? Verily many infants and innocents are daily snatched away, who deserved nothing themselves, yet they were born on those very terms, that they were mortal and liable to die at some time. Why so, I beseech you? Unless it be because they proceed from him, the transgression of which one man was imputed to all, to suffer the punishment of death ; so that is cause sufficient why you should die, because you are propagated from him, who deserved death.—You will say, By a hard enough law. I also would say the same with you, unless the same justice of the eternal God had opposed an equal remedy to this great calamity, making amends for, and also over-balancing just severity with a like kind of mercy. You will say, what way? That way which St. Paul mentions in this place, He that knew no sin, saith he, was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him. What is it to be made sin for us, but to undergo what was due to our sins? Which if the most merciful Father condescended to translate unto his only begotten Son, not for any demerit of his, but for our sakes only, verily it cannot be, neither is it agreeable to the justice of God, nor to reason, that he should punish both his own Son, and us also for our sins.

So that one of those two must needs follow, that if Christ hath made satisfaction for us, either justice hath nothing now in us, that it may accuse us of—or if it have, it is false, which is mentioned in this place by Paul, that Christ was made sin for us; also that which we hear in the prophet, And he shall bear their iniquities, &c. For how did he bear them, if they remain yet to be borne by us? Whence the apostle concluding very well, reasons to this purpose: That we might be made, saith he, the righteousness of God through him ; as if he had said, As Christ did bear our sins, so also we do bear his righteousness. He was punished, not for his own sins, but ours ; in like manner we are endued with righteousness, which is not ours, but his.

In which the admirable work of our redemption is seen; where mercy encountering with justice, doth so contend that it overcomes also, and yet so overcomes, that in the mean while there is not made any violation of justice, but a just recompense for sins. For as unjust as it is, that He, who was free from sin, should suffer the punishment of sin for the guilty, it is again as unjust, that our sins, already expiated in Him for us, should again be punished in us by the judgment of condemnation. And upon a different account, how just it was, that the sin of one, who sustained the person of all nature, should be propagated unto all that came of him, and should be given to public condemnation—again, it is as agreeable to justice, that the obedience of one man, who undertook the cause and person of all men, should be likewise communicated to all regenerated of him, to the imputation of righteousness.

But you plead, that it seems not to be just at all, that any man should seem just by another man's righteousness, who is unrighteous himself. I answer to the contrary, and thus I plead; Neither was it just that Christ, being innocent, should be sunk into the condemnation of death, who was in himself free of all spots. You object to me the definite nature of justice; which because it is a virtue, giving to every man according to his desert, therefore you argue that it cannot be, but it must measure unto all men by equal right, whatsoever is due to their merits. Be it so, and why then does not this same justice distribute to Christ the Son of God according to his deserving? Why is the innocent beaten with stripes? Why is he torn unjustly with punishments? Wherefore, contrary to his deserving, contrary to right and justice, is he drawn to the judgment of death, and being innocent, is stretched forth upon the cross? What can you answer me in this case? What say you? What have you, whereby you may defend this distributive justice? What will justice itself bring for itself, which is the most exact and perfect of all things, so often proclaimed by you, and in so many books, which it may probably make a pretence for the receiving of so great an injury? Except that it may say this only: That we, and the sins of us all, came under punishment in this one most innocent body of his, and there were, with deserved punishments, most justly recompensed by God.

Which unless it were so, justice itself had sinned against Him most unjustly. Now the singular providence of the

Most High Artist hath governed the matter so, that he did both wisely look to the glory of his own Son, and our salvation, and also to his own justice, so that there is nothing wherein his justice may be accused, neither is any thing found in us, in which the very law of justice may justly condemn us. Whence it is rightly said by the apostle, that there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.

For otherwise, to what purpose did Christ die, if he died not for sins and sinners? or how did he die for sins, if the punishment of sin remains to be suffered again by us? How was he made sin and a curse for us, if we yet fall under the curse? Or what fruit will redound to us from this most holy sacrifice, if Christ, by the right of redemption, hath not taken away that which is due to our sins by the law of justice? But if he took it away, where is then the condemnation due to sinners? I speak of those sinners, who being turned from their sins by serious repentance, fly to Christ by faith. But methinks I do already hear what your divinity in this case will mutter against us: you will not deny that Christ died for us, and that our righteousness is placed in him. "But yet so, that these benefits of his, and rewards of justice, come not to us by faith, nor by imputation, but by the study of works and holiness, which being given to the merits of Christ, we receive in this life by the free gift of God. Therefore, that we who were of old shut up in darkness, and even extinct by the strength of death, now we do escape the tyranny of death, that we do now recover the gifts of divine righteousness formerly lost and slipt out of our hands, and that we obtain the reward of life proposed to virtue—all that consists in this, that we should wholly abdicate and forsake whatsoever we have from our first father, and transfer ourselves wholly to the similitude and imitation of our second Father, and so it will come to pass that we shall purchase immortal and divine riches, and eternal glory and true righteousness, with everlasting praise, not by our merits, but only by the virtue of Christ, who works all these things in us."*

Therefore, according to this sort of divinity, the merits of Christ do nothing else in heaven, but that they obtain unto us divine grace, whereby we may, by way of imitation, more easily resemble the most holy footsteps, and similitude of Christ our second Father, and lead our lives well in this world, according to his laws. But what if we cannot

* Osor. de Just. lib. vii.

exactly follow the footsteps of his holiness? What if imitation falter sometimes and stagger? What if the fervency of charity, and the care of our most holy religion, and the observance of justice become too remiss? Yea, what if somewhere a defilement of sin creeps in, as infirmity may occasion? Or, what if, that I may use the words of Jerome, he that rows a boat against the stream, slacken his hands a little, doth he not presently slide back, and is carried by the stream whither he would not? and who is not remiss sometimes?—seeing Paul also confesses that he is sometimes drawn thither whither he would not. And then, where is the righteousness which was hoped for by works? where is the immortality proposed to virtue? Verily, unless the greater mercy of our most gracious Father, had so taken care for us, that our whole salvation should be laid up in the righteousness of his Son, and if faith and imputation did not help us more than imitation of life, our condition had stood on a miserable and broken foundation.

But eternal thanks be to Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, who, according to his unspeakable wisdom, which reaches from end to end strongly, and which disposes all things sweetly, hath not settled our estate by any law of works, but by faith; that according to grace the promise may be sure to all the seed, that though we ourselves are weak, and void of all righteousness, yet it is sufficient, that there is one in our nature who hath fulfilled all righteousness, and that he only is righteous for all. How, say you, for all? Why not, as well as the unrighteousness of one Adam of old was sufficient to bring ruin upon all? Therefore, let us behold Christ in Adam, and compare the one with the other. Who, though they are very unlike to one another, yet agree in this, that both being first fathers of propagation, by an equal similitude, something came from both as progenitors, which hath spread abroad upon all men; namely, death and life; sin and justice. Therefore, one man destroyed all men; and in like manner one man saves all men; neither do you yourself deny this. But let us see how the one destroys, and how the other saves those that are destroyed; "Through his fault," say you, "not our own, we contracted the pollution of sin in our birth,"* these are your very words. Which, as I entertain willingly, so if they are true, and if he in this respect was a type of Christ, which is showed out of Paul,

* Osor. de Just. lib. vii. p. 179.

what hinders but that we also, in like manner, in regeneration may obtain the reward of righteousness, not for our own obedience, but for his? The one sinned, and by his wickedness ruined all men; the other obeyed, and by his righteousness saves all. You say, It is true, if so be we lead our life well according to the imitation and example of him. And where then is the agreement of similitude between Christ and Adam, if the one destroyed us in our being born, as you yourself confess, but Christ cannot save us in our regeneration, except imitation be joined? And where now is the grace of imputation, and the imputation of faith unto righteousness, so oft repeated in the scriptures, taught by the apostles, testified by the most ancient fathers, received and delivered by the church? Shall it be sufficient cause to inflict death upon thy body, that thou wast propagated from Adam, and shall it not have cause enough for the justification of thy soul, that thou art born again in Christ? What say you? Do none die, but they that sin after the example of Adam? Are none saved but those that by a due imitation attain unto the most holy virtues of Christ?

23. *The objection of Osorio is answered, where the imitation of Christ is discoursed of at large.*

What is more solid for advice, or more seasonable for the time, than that which you so much enlarge upon; that every man, according to his power, should propose unto himself Christ the chief example of all virtue, and master of life, for imitation and resemblance; that having rooted out the filth and relics of the old nature, he may drive away very far from him all taints of impurity, with a resolved and magnanimous spirit: and, as you say, "because, we cannot be in the middle between the two, therefore it remains, that having forsaken the party of the body, we should so fight under the banner of Christ our prince, we should so subdue the body itself, by the power of his saving cross; all rebellion of the body should so be overcome in us, that this unbridled lust, which maintains everlasting enmity against God, may at length yield to his command; and that we may not lessen any endeavour or labour, howsoever great, in this most holy observance of justice, and imitation of Christ."

Would that your rhetoric, thus holy and eloquent, might make a suitable harmony concerning the imitation of Christ,

in the ears of the Roman bishops and cardinals; that, seriously rejecting the luxury and superfluity of this life, their vain glory, their needless vanities and trifles, they may at length cease to be conformed to the wicked fashions of this world: and that laying aside all haughtiness and pride of life, they may submit themselves to the humility of Christ; and laying down popish cruelty and tyranny, learn to become meek, of Christ, that most perfect pattern of meekness. Learn, saith he, of me, because I am meek and lowly of spirit. I do not require that those Roman priests should wash the feet of the poor according to the example of Christ, but that they should not embrue their cruel hands in the blood of their brethren. Neither do I require that they should give water to refresh the disciples of Christ, but that they should not heap up flames and fagots to burn their bodies, nor lay snares for them, nor devise to intrap them privily, design their ruin and destruction, furnish darts and weapons to slay them for whom Christ was sacrificed, and by whom they themselves were never hurt.

If example should be taken from Christ, what doth the divine Father and Creator commend more unto us? what else doth his whole life breathe but mutual charity, both towards friends, and also towards enemies? Who, not only doth not break the shaken and bruised reed, but upon the cross prays for his very crucifiers.

Therefore we have an example singularly excellent, which we may imitate. We have also together with an example, a commendation by the mouth of the apostle, by whom charity is called the bond of perfection. Moreover, there is not wanting the preaching of divines, who in their books, in their exercises, in their sermons, do attribute so much to charity, that they call it the form, the perfection, and the very life of faith, without which there is no other virtue, that can be helpful to salvation. There is no need here, in many words, to declare what little agreement there is between the doctrine of those great extollers of charity, and the practice of their lives; seeing there are so many proofs before our eyes, so many ten thousands of men slain do witness it, and so great abundance of christian blood shed; there is so great outrage of persecution everywhere; there is nothing safe from slaughter, fury, tumult, snares, contentions, dangers, articles of inquisition, bonds, and imprisonments. And the fathers of the Roman court

exercise cruelty. First, they make laws written with blood, which afterwards they commit to political monarchs to be promulgated, and to the other officers to be executed by law. On the sudden, citizens of good repute, and learned ministers, are violently haled to examinations, and afterwards to death; if any man dare but open his mouth against the manifest abuses of errors, they spare neither age, nor sex, nor condition. Thus, forsooth, those perfect Roman catholic nobles imitate the charity of Christ! so they follow his divine life, so they resemble his death, so they show forth his meekness, so they bear the image of the divine Father, so they wholly, and more than wholly, form and fashion themselves from the imitation of the earthly father, to the example of the heavenly!

Your godly and eloquent exhortations about putting on and imitating Christ, I am so far from slighting, that I desire they may remain most firmly fixed in the minds of men; for as nothing appears in the most holy manners of Christ, which is not very worthy of imitation, so no part of duty seems more agreeable to every christian, than that all of us should endeavour, with all our might, to resemble the image proposed unto us; especially seeing Paul so gravely, and that in more places than one, calls us hereunto, who, making a comparison of both fathers, Adam, and Christ, declares what we received of both. By man, saith he, came death, and by man came the resurrection from the dead, 1 Cor. xv. And presently after, proceeding on that matter, The first man was of the earth earthly, the second Man is the Lord from heaven. And afterwards, concluding with words to the same purpose, and exhorting us to imitate the example of his obedience, he subjoins, As we have borne, saith he, the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly. And the apostle Peter, not differing much from Paul, proposes Christ for an example of all long suffering; For, saith he, Christ also suffered for us, giving us an example, that ye should follow his footsteps, who did no sin, who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not, but committed all judgment to his Father, &c.

Therefore, that you contend so earnestly with the blessed apostles for following the footsteps of Christ, herein we do very willingly both hear you, and assent unto you. But, that you place all the dignity of our salvation in this; that

you refer all the promises of God to this one head, as if there were no cause of salvation, but that which is placed only in precepts and instructions of life, herein your discourse seems to pass far beyond the bounds of sound and apostolic doctrine.

For though it is a thing of very great concernment, that we should frame all the endeavours and offices of life to the imitation of him, yet salvation is not therefore promised, because our actions agree to this rule of righteousness; neither is the title of righteousness given us because we live virtuously, but because he was made righteousness for us: for we do not become just before God by imitation, but by regeneration. As of old, not through our fault but Adam's; not by imitation, but by birth and propagation, the pollution of his sin was imputed to us unto condemnation; so by virtue of the second Adam, not by any power of our own, by being born again, not by imitating, is righteousness imputed to us under the justification of life. Neither doth it therefore follow, that the examples of Christ are not proposed to us for imitation.

It is one thing to reason from causes to effects, another thing to reason from effects to causes. What if the cause is inquired into that makes us righteous before God? Paul will answer, that Christ is the external cause, who was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him; but the internal is our faith in Christ; which is imputed to them that believe, for righteousness.

But if you ask what are the effects of this cause, who knows not that they are the fruits of pious works, and this very imitation of Christ, which you so greatly, yea, and so deservedly, cry up and extol? For who can rightly call himself a christian, as you say very well, who doth not apply his mind as much as he can, to separate himself from all society of the earthly father, and frame and conform himself wholly to the example of the heavenly? This may be granted to be very true, as indeed it is. For, I do not disallow of that which you do rightly assume, but confute that which you would falsely gather from hence. For thus you conclude, "That the whole magazine of our salvation is placed in this, that by our pious labour and industry, we should purchase the kingdom of God for ourselves. That they who affirm faith only is sufficient for salvation, are mad, and singularly serviceable to the old

serpent; and that every action we undertake, is wholly unprofitable, if faith only is sufficient."* What do you else, but by an unskilful huddle of things, and without order in disputing, turn causes into effects, and again effects into causes?

Chrysostom saith, "As soon as a man believes, he is presently also justified." Which if it be true, then that is false which you assert. For you affirm, "that the obtaining of salvation consists wholly in this, that we should transform ourselves entirely into the similitude of Christ." And again you say, "There is no other way of salvation established for us, but that which is contained in the law of God." And the same you affirmed elsewhere, having openly asserted, "That ascent into heaven is given to the merits of the greatest virtues, and that the mansions of the eternal kingdom are given justly and deservedly to holy and pure men. For so," say you, "it comes to pass that the immortal kingdom is due by the best right to just men; not only as a recompense and reward, but also as a lawful inheritance, being founded upon the wisdom and bounty of the Father."†

All which things seem at a distance to have some show of truth, if they are referred to the state of our first innocency. But now, in this wounded and destroyed nature, they have no place at all, but that they may wholly preclude us from all passages into the eternal mansions of the kingdom. The everlasting reward of righteousness indeed is due by best right to pure and holy men, as you say, and those that observe the law unblameably. But likewise the eternal punishments of hell are due to those that do not perform the royal law according to the scriptures, James ii. What would you do in this case? What good can your philosophy do here? It is true that the Lord said to the rich pharisee, If you will enter into life, keep the commands, Matt. xix. But do you then perform what he was commanded to do? Do you sell all that you have, and give to the poor, and follow Christ naked? But if you do it not, what else can you look for, but to perish together with him? But now the goodness of God hath found out another way to consult our infirmity, who hath not only put upon us the beauty of righteousness, but whole Christ, so that you may not only, being naked, follow Christ, but

* De Just. lib. vii. p. 186.

† Osor. de Just. lib. vii. ix. p. 232. vi. p. 148.

that whole Christ may live in yourself, and clothe you, and also may make you a son of God by faith.

What then! may some man say; Is not the Holy Spirit given to them that trust in Christ, to illuminate their minds with new light, to renew their hearts, to enrich them plentifully with the riches, gifts, and endowments of good works, and to adorn them exceedingly with all kind of virtues? What! do these good works nothing with God, which are performed by the influence of the most Holy Spirit? Do they contribute nothing towards righteousness? Have they no use or place upon the account of reward? For this seems to be the foundation of all your arguing.

Are then all the promises of God referred to this—That there is no hope of righteousness, no way of salvation, no reconciliation for us, nor remission of sins, unless the law be kept? Where then is that peace with God, which the apostle preaches; Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ? Where is that access to the throne with boldness? Where is the hope of glory, happiness, the blessing, the inheritance of eternal life, according to promise; if these good things come no otherways, as you suppose, but by a covenant of life, which no spot of sin defiles? What! hath your profession of God received this gospel from the teachings of the apostles, or from the opinion of Plato? It is therefore of faith, saith Paul, that the promise may be firm according to grace. But what way is it firm, if it is of works upon any account? Or how is it of faith, if you confine all the promises of God to the law of righteousness, which may confirm the minds of all men, with a sure hope of righteousness, as you say? Or what will that assurance of righteousness be, if you, detaining us in a doubtful wavering of hope, take away all encouragement of good hope?

24. *Concerning the promises of God, what, to whom, and how God hath promised.*

It remains that we should hear what that is, which God hath promised—to whom he hath promised—how, and for what cause he doth it. Now there are both many and great gifts of God, and ornaments; partly bestowed upon us, and partly promised through the singular bounty of his grace; yea, seeing there is nothing in this workmanship of nature, nor in the meanest things, but what we ought to acknowledge to be his free gift, if we would be thankful.

And also, amongst all these things, which being so many and so great, he hath conferred upon us with so liberal a hand, I esteem that nothing is more glorious nor more admirable, than this large honour of his kingdom, which the Lord himself promises us in the gospel. Fear not, saith he, little flock, for it is the good will of your Father to give you the kingdom. Which Paul also makes mention of, writing both elsewhere, and also to the Colossians; Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us unto the kingdom of his dear Son, &c. Of which also Daniel hath given an ample testimony; The kingdom, saith he, and the dominion, and the largeness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, &c.

In which one benefit, seeing the whole sum of our felicity is comprehended; namely, reconciliation with God, imputation of righteousness, remission of sins, peace with God, access with boldness, hope, the glory of God, eternal blessedness and salvation, the inheritance of eternal life, freedom from the accusation and condemnation of the law, Rom. iv. v. Titus iii. Rom. viii.—what can any man, either by desires wish for, or by faith conceive, more glorious? For he that is promoted unto the possession of a kingdom, what more can be added to him, unto the highest splendour of glory, and the degree of the most honourable dignity?

Therefore we have the hereditary mansions of the eternal kingdom promised to us, and that not of works, but of faith; not according to bargain, but according to grace; and therefore according to grace, that the promise may be firm and sure to all the seed.

It is a very weighty cause, and authority not to be contemned. For what is more firm for all manner of security, than that which relies on the certain faithfulness of God, and a free promise? On the contrary, what is more unstable than that which depends on the most uncertain condition of our works, which are either for the most part evil, or always uncertain? Why then wilt thou cast us again out of the most firm safeguard of most sure confidence proposed to us, which rests most safely in the free bounty of God's promises, as if thou drovest us out of a haven of tranquillity procured for us, to be tossed in the tempestuous waters and straits of diffidence and desperation? And do you make those things doubtful and uncertain, which through the bounty of God, we do as it were hold in our

hands with a most assured faith, so that now there is not any thing certain, which a man may satisfy his own soul about touching salvation? for what can be certain, if so be the grace of the promise being taken away, if imputation of righteousness being neglected, which is placed in Christ for us, the whole matter is brought to the account of our actions? and you plead that we are not otherwise righteous before God, than by performing the offices of the divine law?

By the many things, which have been mentioned by you concerning the law and its office, it appears you have two opinions, both of which are false. First, That you affirm, that we, being supported by the grace of God, and guarded by his help, can very easily perform all things, whatsoever are commanded by the law of God. Secondly, Because you plead, that all the nature of our righteousness and salvation consists in performing God's commands; and that there is no other way to heaven but that which is contained in the law of God. Both which reasons, how absurd they are, how contrary to the grace of God and the gospel, and how much disallowed and confuted, not only by all authority of divine scripture, but also long since contradicted by the sayings of the most ancient fathers, and how void of all support of reason and experience, there is no man that hath so little reason or religion, but evidently perceives it, and clearly takes notice of it. We do not deny that by the help of the grace of the divine Spirit there are wonderful, various, and manifold effects produced, and great gifts are shed abroad in the minds of the regenerate, for governing all parts of life piously and holily; but whence, I pray you, will you teach that such great strength, and such great power to observe righteousness is given by God, and committed unto mortal man, which may be sufficient for performing all things that are prescribed in the most holy law of God?

25. *Concerning the perfection of righteousness, and complete obedience of the law.*

You press again and again out of the prophet; I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, Jer. xxxi. And also out of the other prophet; And I will give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my precepts, and keep my judgments, and also may do these things which are just, &c. Ezek. xi

I hear the oracles of the prophetical promise, uttered with great evidence, from whence certainly works of new obedience do proceed, which necessarily follow faith; so that if any man inquires for the cause of good works, he learns that it should not be attributed to the strength of man's will, but the gift of the Holy Spirit. But whence does this gift proceed, but from the merits of Christ? or to whom is it given, but to them that believe in Christ? For the Holy Spirit is received by faith, according to that of Paul; That we may receive the promise of the Spirit by faith. Wherefore, seeing faith is the only thing which procures unto us the Holy Spirit, therefore it cannot be otherwise, but that having received the divine Spirit of sanctification, a new life, and spiritual motions do follow in the hearts of the regenerate. For a mind rightly qualified with the faith of Christ, and being now reconciled to God, as it cannot be destitute of the favour of God, so being stirred up by his holy breathings, begins now to be a law to itself, whereby it fears God, and according to its power honours him with due reverence, cleaves unto him with all its might, refers its actions and counsels to him, calls on him by prayers, adheres to him in adversity, celebrates his benefits with a thankful remembrance, lays its hope and confidence, and its whole self upon him, and also for his sake loves and cherishes all the brethren.

And as there is no man that denies these offices of necessary obedience, performed by the help of the Spirit of God, are fruits of a well-instructed faith, so there is no controversy between us and you in that matter.

But the greatest difference that is between us consists in this; that whereas we assert, that the obedience of man, born again by the divine power, is but begun and imperfect in this mortal infirm state; you, on the contrary, dream of some inconceivable perfection of obedience in works, the Spirit of God so working in us, that whosoever is qualified therewith needs nothing that belongs to complete perfection of righteousness.

But though God hath promised to his saints, that the assisting grace of his Spirit shall not be wanting; which may help forward pious attempts in his elect, and stir up their endeavours after more holy obedience; where hath he at any time promised, or on whom hath he bestowed, that happiness in walking, which turns no where to the right hand nor to the left? which stumbles not through

the whole life? which in all kind of virtues, by a constant perseverance, so conforms the course of life to complete innocence, that it never fails in any thing? The adversaries for the defence of their own cause, catch at the words cited out of Jeremiah, chap. xxxii. and Ezekiel, chap. xxxvi. I will cause you to walk in my precepts, and keep my judgments, &c. And then out of Deuteronomy, chap. xxx. I will circumcise, saith the Lord, the fore-skin of your heart, that ye may love the Lord with all your heart, and with all your soul. In these words there is indeed a glorious promise contained of the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the restoring of new obedience; but because there is a twofold perfection, and a twofold righteousness, according to Jerome, one which is suited to the virtues of God, another which is agreeable to our frailty—and again, seeing, according to the authority of Augustine, there is a twofold kind of obedience; one that is seen in this life, being but begun and imperfect, another that is perfect, which is completed in the life to come, it is not difficult to discern in what sense the perfection of renovation should be understood in the scriptures. That is, not simply and absolutely, but according to the measure and capacity of this life.

Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith, "The virtue which is now in a righteous man, is called perfect, upon this account, because it belongs to his perfection, both to acknowledge in truth, and confess in humility his own imperfection." Moreover, Jerome, not much differing from him, answered wisely, when that place of St. Paul was objected to him, Whosoever of us are perfect, we understand this;* to this Jerome says, "What then do we understand, yea, what ought we to understand? that we who are perfect, should acknowledge ourselves to be imperfect, and that we have not yet comprehended, nor yet attained unto perfection. This is," saith he, "the wisdom of man, to know himself to be imperfect; and that I may so speak, the perfection of all righteous men in the flesh, is imperfect, &c." And afterwards again in the same book, "Therefore, we are righteous then, when we confess ourselves to be sinners. For our righteousness consists not of our own merit, but of the mercy of God, as the scripture says, The righteous man is an accuser of himself in the beginning of his speech." And again to Ctesiphon, "This is men's only perfection," saith he, "if they know themselves to be imperfect," &c.

* Phil. iii. 15.

Moreover, the adversaries set upon us with another argument, which they produce out of the words of Deuter. xxx. "That the regenerate, by the help of the Spirit of God, can fulfil all righteousness by the works of the law."

This reasoning, as it differs not much from the former, so there is implied in it a certain kind of fallacy not unlike it. For there lurks under the words of scripture, not being rightly understood, a fallacy or venom wholly Pelagian.

But Augustine will ingeniously confute this fallacy for us, in his book; the title whereof is, Concerning the perfection of righteousness. Where he speaks after this manner, That the state of this controversy about the perfection of love, is exercised about two questions, By whom? And when?

First, as if the question be, By whom a man may attain unto such perfection, that he may be without sin? He answers, "That comes not to pass by the strength of free will, but by the grace of God." And so far there is no debate between us, and the opposite party. But if there be inquiry made about the time when such a perfection is attained, Augustine speaks expressly, that this comes not to pass in this life, but in that which is to come. And no less appositely, in another book he dispels the mists of this argument with very evident words. "This precept of righteousness," saith he, "concerning loving the Lord with all the heart, and with all the soul; and also, that of loving our neighbour, we shall fulfil in that life, where we shall see face to face." But here some will object, Wherefore is it commanded, if it is not fulfilled here? Augustine answers, "That we may be instructed what we ought to ask by faith, and whither to send hope before; and unto what things that are before us we should press forward, not being satisfied with any thing that is behind. According to my opinion, that man hath made a great progress in this life, in that righteousness which is to be perfected, who by profiting knows how far he is from the perfection of righteousness," &c.

Writing to Boniface, he thus reasons about divine grace, "The grace of God gives, in this life, an endeavour to keep the commands, (and here you have the obedience begun, as we call it,) and the same, if any thing is not fully observed in the precepts, pardons," &c.

And so all commands of God are reckoned as performed, because whatsoever is not performed is pardoned. By

which you may see, that our righteousness in this life is of such a sort, that it consists rather of the remission of sins, than the perfection of virtues, which perfection must be looked for by us in the life to come.

Moreover there is another thing, that must not be passed by in this place, that the same Augustine, writing to Jerome, saith, "Charity is a virtue, whereby that which should be beloved, is beloved. This in some is greater, in others lesser, in others none at all. But the fullest, that cannot be increased as long as man lives here, is in no man. But as long as it can be increased, verily that which is less than it ought to be, is faulty; by reason of which default, there is not a just man upon the earth, that doth good, and sinneth not. Because of which default no man living shall be justified in the sight of God. By reason of which viciousness, if we say that we have not sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us, because of which, how much soever we have profited, it is necessary for us to say, Forgive us our debts."

The books of the ancient orthodox divines are full of very authentic testimonies confirming this opinion. It is an excellent and grave saying of Cyprian, speaking of the regenerate, "Let no man flatter himself upon the account of a pure and unspotted heart; that, trusting to his own innocency, he should suppose that his wounds need no medicine; seeing it is written, Who shall glory that he hath a chaste heart? or who shall glory that he is clean from sins? But if no man can be without sins, whosoever shall call himself unblameable, is either a proud man, or a fool," &c.

"There is not so great harmony found in any one man," saith Ambrose, "that the law which is in the members doth not oppose the law of the mind. Therefore, that which the apostle John said, is true of all saints in the general, If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." I may also add that of Bernard, which is very agreeable to this matter. He saith, "Who dare arrogate to himself that which Paul himself confesses he had not attained unto? Indeed he that gave the command was not ignorant that the weight thereof exceeded the strength of men; but he judged it useful, that by this very thing they should be convinced of their own insufficiency, and that they should know what end of righteousness they should endeavour with all their might to attain

unto. Therefore, by commanding things impossible, he did not make men transgressors, but humble, that every mouth might be stopped, and all the world might lie under the judgment of God."

I can bring innumerable testimonies of the like sort, out of well approved authors. But why take up time in rehearsing the names of men, or in reckoning their approbations? when, to speak it all in one word, all the antiquity of former ages, the public consent of the former church, and the choicest writers out of all eldest time, as many as ever rejected the ancient Pelagianism; all these with one mouth agree in this matter against you, that there is no integrity of righteousness in this life, which is not imperfect, which needs not forgiveness; that there is not so great an innocency here, which is without any wound, which needs no medicine; and that no one of all the saints has so lived, that a great deal was not wanting to him to complete righteousness, and who needed not daily to pray for the pardon of his iniquity. As Augustine testifies, "Because," saith he, "there is daily offending, therefore there must be also daily remission." Which things, being confirmed by most evident testimonies of very learned witnesses, where then is that salvation, which, according to your description, "is placed in righteousness, holiness, religion, and the excellent merits of all virtues?" Where is that righteousness of works which reconciles us to God, and makes us like God? Where is that way, which is paved to heaven for us with the excellent merits of works? Where is that ascent into the heavenly kingdom, which is opened by the merits of the greatest virtues? Where are the mansions of the everlasting kingdom, which you assert are justly and deservedly given to holy and pure men? Where also is that immortal kingdom, which you conclude is due by best right, not only as a recompense and reward, but also as a legal patrimony, founded by the wisdom and bounty of the Father?* What if according to your discipline, there is no other way laid open to salvation, but by keeping the commandments; and if according to the judgment of Bernard, the law is of such a weight, that it wholly exceeds human strength, which was just now showed, what hope of salvation does there now remain for us?

"Verily," say you, "if any man consider his own strength, in so great a frailty of human strength, it will be

* Osor. de Just. lib. ii. p. 44. lib. vi. 148.

most difficult to attain to a divine state of righteousness; but if you consider in your own mind the divine riches, which, if you will, will always be present with you, nothing is more easy."* Must we be saved in keeping God's commands? and think you this so easy to be performed? "Why not," say you, "when the Spirit of God helps?" How little does this saying differ from that of the Pelagians, which Augustine rehearses, for thus they said, "By an easy endeavour after holiness, which God helps, a man may be without sins." But let us hear Augustine, answering against Julian. He saith, "We deny not, that the help of God is so powerful, if he will, that at this day we might have no evil concupiscences against which we should fight, though with the greatest certainty of conquest. And yet you yourself deny not, that it doth not so come to pass, but why it comes not to pass, who hath known the mind of the Lord? Yet I know not a little, when I know, whatsoever that cause is, that it is not the iniquity of a just God, nor the insufficiency of an almighty God. Therefore, there is something in his deep and hidden counsel, why, as long as we live in this mortal flesh, there is something in us, against which our mind should fight. There is also something why we should say, Forgive us our sins." And a little after, "That man understands these things, who being hunger-bitten, returns to himself, and says, I will arise and go to my Father. Therefore it comes to pass in this place of infirmity, that we should not live proudly, and that we should live under the daily remission of sins. But whether that be the cause, or another, which I am more ignorant of, yet that which I cannot doubt, is, how much soever we get forward under this burden of a corruptible body, if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." This he said, but why should I urge you with human authority, seeing the matter itself carries against you with a very strong voice, and the whole scripture gives this honour only to Christ, and the universal experience and example of men, and the practice of life, besides the domestic witnesses of your conscience, do publish a manifest testimony against you?

You say, "We presently obtain the help of God, whereby we may most easily perform all things that are commanded us."† Is it so? "all things?" what then if I ask of that first command of love, which you owe to the Lord your God with all your heart, and all the endeavour of

* Osor. de Just. lib. ix. p. 131, 132. † Lib. ix. p. 231.

your mind? or of that, whereby you are commanded not to covet at all? Do you perform it? I know what distinction the talkative schools of the sophisters use here, "according to the substance of the act, and according to the intention of the lawgiver." But I do not value these fables of subtleties. We know this by the writings of Paul, that the law is spiritual, we are carnal and sold under sin; I ask, If thou thyself, being compassed about now with this frailty of the flesh, dost fulfil this spiritual law of God, with that sincerity of spirit which thou oughtest? "What I myself do by my own strength," say you, "I do not dispute here, yet I can by the help of the grace of God." After all your debate it comes to this, that you plead the commands of God are easy, and you would have nothing appointed by him, which cannot be observed by us. Now, after a most heavy dream, (according to the words of Jerome,) to deceive ignorant souls, you in vain endeavour to add, "not without grace." But the question is not what the almighty grace of God can do of itself, but what it does in any mortal man? You make the precepts of righteousness easy, which when the divine grace assists, do not exceed our best endeavour; and yet cannot produce one man that hath fulfilled them all. Now what an argument is it that a thing can be which hath not been? that a thing can be done, which you bear witness none hath done? and to attribute that to some unknown person, which you cannot prove to have been in the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles? Paul the apostle, himself complains of the refractory rebellion of his members, who was not able to do the good which he desired, crying out that he was both carnal, and miserable, and captive.

This should be attributed to Him only, concerning whom it is written as peculiar to Him; Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. If you would have this common to you with Christ, that you can be without sin, what do you leave him, that is peculiar to himself? But if not, what remains then, but that those high mountains of righteousness with which you are so puffed up, should not only fall, but also vanish.

You proceed yet, seeking as it were a knot in a rush, which yet is broke through with no difficult wedge. You ask, "To what purpose the law was prescribed by God with so great care, or for what end did he require the law should always remain in the minds of them, whom he

instructed in the law, if none of those things which he established by law was to be in the power of men?"*

Though God willed that his laws should be performed most exactly by all, yet there are other, both many and weighty causes, why the law, which is a rule of perfect righteousness, though it could not be kept by us in respect of perfect obedience, yet it was necessary that it should be promulgated—either that there might be a public testimony of the judgment and anger of God against sin, or that we ourselves might be brought more easily to the knowledge of our sins and frailty. Concerning which Paul said, When the law came sin revived. Or, that taking notice of the frailty of corrupted and ruined nature, being more strongly driven by this necessity, we might be pressed forward, as by the ferula of a pedagogue, to Christ, who is the end of the law, as also the law is called a pedagogue to Christ: or that we may be taught, as it were by this same pedagogy, whither we must go: that if we cannot attain unto a full obedience of the law, yet we may profit in the inchoation of obedience, as much as we can.

Wherefore, seeing there are so many and such great causes of making a law, it appears evident enough from hence, that there is no cause why the law should seem to be imposed upon us by God in vain. And yet it doth not therefore follow that because the law of God, after the fall, is impossible to human nature, as to the complete obedience thereof, that therefore it is unprofitable, seeing the same hath other advantages so remarkable.

But let us proceed to the other reasons in your argument. You say, "What is more contrary to justice and equity, than that one should be punished upon that account, because he hath not performed those things which he could by no means so much as begin?"† You proceed also to represent the matter as it were before the eyes of a man, by the framing of similitudes.

Here is a fallacy. This want of strength and impotency would have a just excuse, if nature had been properly and simply so created. But when this weakness was not at first created with nature itself, but crept in some other way, against nature, by sin, we must therefore see, not only what this corrupted nature now can do, or cannot do, but also what it ought simply to do. Punishment is

* Osor. de Just. lib. viii. p. 197.
† Osor. de Just. lib. viii. p. 8.

not unjustly inflicted for those things, which there is no cause but they might have been observed, either in regard of the lawgiver himself, or in the nature of the things themselves, but only by reason of the impotency of the subjects themselves, an impotency contracted through their own default.

As Augustine signifies, " Yea, therefore, it is man's fault, because it came to pass by the will of man only; that he is come to that necessity, which the will of man only cannot shake off." What cruelty should it be reckoned if a Lord require just punishment to be inflicted on a servant that is corrupt and flagitious? Yea, behold rather singular clemency in the Lord, who is so far from inflicting upon the servant the punishment which he deserved, that he receives him into favour without any merit; yea, moreover exposes his dearly beloved Son to undergo punishment for the servant.

What other thing do Luther and Calvin, but proclaim, according to the gospel, the free pardoning grace of God to all that by faith embrace Christ, who was slain for us? They are so far from being guilty of this calumny, which you most unjustly cast upon them, that you can no where find any, who with greater earnestness do declare the infinite riches of divine grace to mortal men.

26. *How Christ takes away sins.*

I confess that the riches of divine grace are infinite, and that the gifts are excellent, which God bestows upon his own; yet the grace of God doth not so perfect any man in this life, but that oft in small things we offend all, James ii. and pray daily, that our debts may be forgiven us. Yea, what is all the discourse of the saints to God but a continual praying and deprecating, as Jerome witnesses, whereby it extorts the clemency of the Creator, that we, who cannot be saved by our own strength, may be saved by his mercy. Concerning which, Psal. xxxii. For this shall every saint pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found. Whence Jerome infers, and not without reason, " If he is a saint how doth he pray for the pardon of sin? If he hath iniquity, upon what account is he called holy? namely, after that manner whereby it is elsewhere said, A just man falleth seven times a day, and riseth up again. And again, A just man is an accuser of himself in the beginning of his speech. Therefore the

grace of God helps our infirmities, that they may be diminished. But we deny that he so helps them, that they are wholly taken away. It helps indeed infirmities, as hath been said, but yet it leaves us infirm, that it may always help us No man is ignorant how great power of Christ appeared in the holy apostles, which yet did not fully complete their strength, but it was rather perfected by their infirmity. We know, saith Paul, in part, and we prophesy in part: but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. We now see darkly through a glass, but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know as I am known.

Therefore, that I may answer in a word, if you suppose there is that help of divine grace, which makes obedience in this life to be wholly unblamable and perfect; Augustine will presently deny that, who, discoursing of the first precept of righteousness, whereby we are commanded to love God, with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves: "We shall fulfil that," saith he, "in that life, where we shall see face to face." He farther says, "And therefore that man hath profited much in this life, in that righteousness, which is to be perfected, who by profiting knows how far he is from the perfection of righteousness."

Moreover, that which is argued from the power of divine grace, is not sufficient to exclude the necessity of sin. They say, indeed, that by the perfect grace of God it is possible that a man may not sin at all in this life. Be it so; yet all things are not made which can be made by the singular power of God. So, by the power of God helping us we could fly, yet we do not fly: for God willeth not all things, which his power is able to do. But you say, "He willeth and commandeth with great authority, that we should observe his precepts, which he would not command unless he knew them to be possible." It is true, indeed, if they are understood according to that nature, which he first created in us; so that in him there is no cause but that the precepts, as they should be judged right, so also they should be judged possible. But hearken to Jerome aptly untying this knot. "God hath commanded things possible," saith he, "this no man doubts of. But because men did not possible things, therefore all the world is become subject to God, and needs his mercy."

There is not any thing so difficult in human things but infinite Omnipotency can do it by a word of his power; to whom it would not be difficult to restore this frailty of fallen nature to its ancient state of innocency, if he would. And there is no doubt but God would do it, if he had decreed to do as much by his secret counsel, as he could do by his infinite majesty. Now, therefore, either prove that all infirmity of the flesh is taken away in the regenerate, and that they are restored to their former innocency, which is without all sin, and also freed from a necessity of dying, or cease to dream of that perfection of righteousness in this life which hitherto hath not been found in any of the saints, whether apostles, or patriarchs, or prophets.

Where hath God so engaged his faithfulness that the remainders of all sin being cut off, and all infirmity of sinning being taken away, he would so heal mankind, having so thoroughly purged them from all sin, that evil concupiscence being subdued, and all matter of the ancient contagion being blotted out, no relics of sin should remain in this life, but that it may be most easy to obey the commands of God, and so obtain salvation?

Many testimonies are brought, as that with Christ God hath promised that he will give us all things, &c. (Also Ps. ciii. li. Isa. lxi. Jer. l. Ezek. xxxvi. Micah vii. John i.) But what do they all aim at, but that we may understand, that by Christ all the pollutions of our sinful nature are done away?

There is one answer, and a well fitted one, out of Augustine. "Distinguish the times," saith he, "and you will reconcile scriptures." Our sins are done away by Christ; no man doubts of that. But we must see how they are done away. He does them away in this life, he will also do them away in the life to come; but not after one and the same manner: for iniquity is taken away, and sin receives an end, as is evident by the prophecy of Daniel. But if you ask, How in this flesh? Augustine will answer you: "None," saith he, "takes away sin, but Christ, who is the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world. And he takes them away, both by removing the sins that were done, and by helping that they may not be done, and by bringing to the future life where they cannot be done at all. Therefore, in this life there is only a race to righteousness, and in the other life will be the prize. This then is our righteousness now, whereby we run, hungering and

thirsting, to the perfection and fulness of that righteousness wherewith we shall afterward be satisfied in the other life. Hence the apostle saith, Not that I have already attained, or am already perfect. Brethren, I do not think that I have apprehended, but one thing I do, forgetting the things that are behind, and being stretched forth to those things that are before, I press forward to the mark of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

Therefore, according to Augustine, here is the race, here is the progress, there will be the perfection. Here, as running in a race, we proceed from virtue to virtue. There we are perfected. Now, we have only the seeds of virtues begun : then, in that fulness of charity, when that shall be perfected in us which now is imperfect, that precept shall be fulfilled ; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul. For whilst there is any carnal concupiscence, which may be restrained by continency, God is not in all respects loved with all the soul; for the flesh doth not lust without the soul, though the flesh is said to lust, because the soul lusteth carnally; therefore as long as the saints are burdened with this flesh, which they cannot shake off, verily sin, dwelling in the flesh, cannot be absent. But it is taken out of the world, after the very same manner that the death of Christ hath driven death from our necks, and yet we die. The same comes to pass in the destroying of sin ; that being freed from sin by Christ, yet we are not without sin, for these two things come always together, being tied to one another by very near connexion—that where sin is, there by necessary consequence death follows ; wherefore, if the flesh is yet held in bonds by the cruelty of death, by the same reason it is proved, that the relics of sin remain also in the flesh. But now where then is that righteousness which Christ hath purchased for us ? Where our life is, there is also our righteousness. Not in this flesh which we put off, but in that body which we shall in due time put on uncorrupted. For such are all the benefits of Christ, purchased for us, that the promise of them being showed afar off, as of old the holy land to the Hebrews, it is apprehended by faith, and the Spirit in this life, but the full possession belongs only, peculiarly, and in the whole, to the other life.

27. *Christ begins his benefits in this life, and perfects them in the life to come.*

Now these great benefits of the Son of God consist chiefly in this, that sin being totally abolished, death being destroyed, he restores us, being plucked out of the kingdom of the devil, unto the possession of eternal life, in which God communicates himself wholly to us, and is wholly all in all. And this most glorious work of his, most full of the highest dignity, he begins in this miserable life, and will complete it in the other life, when that shall come to pass which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory: O death where is thy victory? O death where is thy sting? Howbeit these things are not said upon this account, as if there were nothing in the interim, or but little in this life, which the help of the grace of Christ does for us. As of old the help of the eternal God was never wanting to the Israelites in the waste wilderness, whom he was to bring into the habitations of promise; so verily neither are Christ's benefits towards us little; and the riches of his bounty are not small, which the present grace of Christ pours daily upon us with a full hand, when in this sinful nature he often helps our infirmities, forgives our sins, instructs us with his word, refreshes us with hope, supports us by faith, feeds and strengthens us by the sacraments, and refreshes us by his own Spirit, adorns us with his gifts, renews our hearts, and stirs them up to spiritual motions of better life and obedience, restrains vicious affections—by whose guidance there increase in us the beginnings of eternal life, the knowledge of God, invocation, fear, faith, true repentance, a new law, and the image of Him who created us.

And, seeing Christ works these things in us with continual care, daily more and more, promoting and bringing into maturity that which he hath begun in us; there is no cause why the graces of Christ here, should seem needless to any man.

But these beginnings of divine grace must be distinguished from that perfect and complete renovation of nature which shall be seen in the glorified after this life. For though it should not be doubted but great advantages are communicated to believers by the divine help of the Holy Spirit, both to shun those things that are grievously offensive, and also to exercise the offices of piety;

of which Paul, They, saith he, who are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God, Rom. viii. Yet there is not given to the regenerate, in this life a complete conformity to the law of God, but it is reserved for the other life. For the life of the saints in this world should not be called a life of the flesh, but of faith rather; not a life of perfect, but of begun love and mortification; as being not so much discerned in justice as in justification; not in perfect holiness, but in sanctification; not in perfect purity, but in purification; not in perfection, but in going forward.

Else, what will become of those, who being just men, fall seven times a day, and yet rise up again? Prov. xxiv. What also will become of all those, concerning whom James saith, In many things we offend all? Moreover, what will become of those whom Christ bids to pray, Lord, forgive us our debts?

Moreover, if no man is joined to God, or received into favour, but he that is his friend, how then doth God agree to his own law, which commands not only to love friends, but to pray for enemies? When God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, what else was this world then, but an enemy to God, which yet he had so great a favour to? Yea, Paul expressly testifies, that we were reconciled to God, not when we were friends, but enemies: and therefore he says, The love of Christ is commended in this, that he died for enemies. And again, If, whilst we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God, by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.

Though the similitude of manners hath oftimes no small strength to procure friendship in the common use of life, yet all things that are any way unlike, are not so opposed, that they cannot consist together without combating one against another. As there are many differences in things, yet every difference doth not untie the bond of love—as again, neither do all men, every where, cleave to one another by a firm bond of friendship, who do some way agree in endowments and disposition—verily, in the divine love, this agreement of conformity hath no place: that they should be received into favour, who come nearest to his image. For so it would come to pass, that all other creatures being excluded, almighty God would embrace only angelical virtues with his divine favour.

Though neither here, if you look to angels themselves,

doth any proportion of similitude unite into one with the divine holiness. Augustine also comes to this point, who, comparing our righteousness which now is, with that which is to come, hath these words concerning its dissimilitude, "When that righteousness, according to which they live, shall be, and where no evil concupiscence shall be, let every man measure himself, what he is now and what he shall be then, and he will find in comparison of that righteousness, that all his works now are loss and dung." And afterwards, "In the resurrection we believe we shall fulfil righteousness, that is, that we shall have full righteousness. In comparison of that, all the life we live now is dung," &c. And what agreement of similitude can be found between this life of dung, and that highest Author, and Prince of all holiness?

28. *The assertion that there can be no reconciliation to God, unless all the relics of sin be utterly cut off.*

It cannot be denied that justice and sin are repugnant to one another by the most contrary opposition. Likewise, we must confess that it is no less true, that all impurity of sin is hateful and abominable to God: for the anger of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who detain the truth in unrighteousness; as the apostle speaks very evidently. Which being so, what remains then, but that the life of the godly should either be free of all sin in this world, as Osorio contends; or if that cannot be, as Luther affirms, all must be liable to the wrath of God. I answer then with the apostle Paul, That indeed would follow, unless there comes a mediator, who may interpose himself against the anger of God in the sinner's behalf; who may satisfy for sin, who may obtain pardon, who may mollify the rigour of justice; yea, who may transpose all the judgment given against the guilty upon himself, and that now He himself may be judge of the cause, who is the forgiver of the crime. For so we hear in the gospel, My Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son. And again, All things are delivered unto me by my Father.

Therefore, that we may expedite a matter not very difficult, in a few words: that sin is hateful to God, nothing is more true. But it is one thing to speak of sin, and another thing to speak of man that is a sinner. God indeed hates sin; the physician hates the disease, but yet

not so, that he should destroy the diseased person, but that he should heal him. Concerning which, if you do not trust me, hear Augustine; "He is not a God that condemns some sins, and justifies and praises other sins. He praises none, but hates all sin; as a physician hates the disease, and by curing endeavours to drive away the disease. So God, by his grace, procures that sin is consumed in us. But how is it consumed? It is diminished in the life of them that are going on to perfection: it shall be consumed in the life of the perfect."

29. *The assertion of Luther against Osorio concerning the sins of the saints is defended.*

I come now to Luther, whom you reproach after such an unworthy manner, and with such shameful slanders, yea, and falsehoods. Why so?—Because he durst accuse the saints themselves of sin; which seems to you so execrable a wickedness, as if no greater reproach could be cast, not only on holy men themselves, but also on the Author and Prince of all holiness.

You may upon the same account cast reproaches in like manner, upon Jerome, Augustine, and Bernard, and other most approved writers of the primitive times; whom you must either by necessary consequence absolve with Luther, or not condemn Luther without them; seeing there is none of all these, that thought this title of honour should be attributed to any man, but Christ only, that he should be wholly without any stain of sin. That which Luther asserts concerning the sins of the saints, if the words be suitably weighed with the state of the question, there is no offence in it. As if it be asked, whether the works of the regenerate should be called good in this life, or sins? Luther denies not that the pious deeds of the regenerate are good; but affirms that they are good in the sight of God, and pleasing to him, which comes not to pass upon the account of the work itself, but upon the account of faith and a Mediator; for whose sake the pious endeavours of his own are pleasing to God, and their begun obedience, though it is otherways of its own nature imperfect. Therefore, this is not the controversy, whether the regenerate, by the help of the grace of God, can do any thing in this life piously and commendably: neither is this the controversy, whether the absolute grace of God in the regenerate is able to perform this, that their works

should be free of all sin. But whether the grace of God in this flesh, furnishes any of the regenerate with so great a power of perfecting righteousness, that any work of theirs, is so complete and perfect, if it be examined according to the rule of the divine law, that it needs no pardon or mediator. But if it needs mercy, then it is necessarily joined with pollution and sin, so that now the praise belongs to the Mediator and not to man; to imputation, not to action; to grace, not to merit; to faith, not to works; that God accepts of the works of the regenerate and most holy men. Neither is the rectitude of our good things any thing else but the forgiveness of God, and the remission of his just severity. Whence the apostle rightly concludes, that those who are of the works of the law, not speaking of evil works, but the most perfect works, are under the curse; and upon this account it is true, which Luther says, that a righteous man sins in every good work. Not that the work itself, being appointed by the law of God, is a sin; but because, according to the saying of Augustine, whatsoever is less than it ought to be, is faulty. From whence it appears evident that in this life there is no work so perfect, but something is wanting; that is, there is sin in it, if it be judged according to the strict rigour of the law.

30. *Concerning the grace of God.*

Grace is not rightly defined that it is nothing else but virtue and justice. That it is a virtue, Thomas Aquinas did flatly deny. And it cannot be called justice, seeing that is comprehended under the general name of virtue. Albert saith, "Grace is a habit of life universally well ordered, not according to the degrees of things ordered, but as it is called a relation of the whole life, to the obtaining of the end. But justice doth not this, nor virtue; for justice doth not necessarily make worthy of eternal life, upon the account that it is justice, or virtue." If the proper and true cause which reconciles us to the love of God, and makes us worthy of eternal life, should be searched for, we shall find, that it lies not in the works of justice, but that it proceeds from another cause.

And what that cause is, Christ himself, the best master, teacheth in the gospel. These are his words, For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came from the Father. By which you see that it comes to pass, not for the sake of our justice or

virtue, but for the sake of his own dearly beloved Son, that God the Father cares for us, and loves us.

"What then," say you, "doth not justice make men that live holily and justly in this world acceptable to God? Which if it is so, it cannot be judged to be any other thing but grace. For whatsoever renders us acceptable to God, is justly esteemed to be grace. Justice makes us acceptable to God, therefore it is grace." I deny not that justice, as it is very acceptable to God, so it renders acceptable to God, if it is perfect and agreeable to the divine perfection; which not being given to us in this life, another altar must be sought, there is need of other helps. Therefore, if we would find any favour in the sight of God, we must betake ourselves to Christ, and embrace him by faith. I am not ignorant what this disputant drives at, and what masters he follows, and on what foundation he builds. He builds upon that old and stale distinction of the schoolmen, as much used as it is light, and frivolous, and vain. They, according to their own subtilty, divide the manifold efficacy of grace, most of them into two parts, and some of them into three or more. Namely, into grace freely given, and that which makes acceptable. And again they subdivide this latter into operative grace, which again they divide into three rivulets, preventing, beginning, delivering, and afterwards into co-operating, which likewise is threefold; following, promoting, assisting.

With what study, with what labour, what cobwebs do these praters here weave, that they may darken the wholesome doctrine of grace with the smoke and soot of their idle talk. For if we speak of that grace, unto which our whole salvation is referred, who is there but understands by the writings of the evangelists and apostles, that it is thus described? That it is the only thing which, being placed in the free indulgence of God towards miserable sinners, doth with dear love in Christ the Son of God, embrace all that believe in him, and forgive their sins, and for the sake of his own Son bestows his Spirit, and eternal life and felicity upon them, though otherwise they are unworthy. And though the operation of this grace is not one, and the effects are divers, and the gifts various, according to the diversity of donations; yet the divine grace itself is only one, which is both freely given to us for salvation, and makes those acceptable to God, whom it saves, and is one and the same cause both of salvation

and renovation. Wherefore, their distinction is justly found fault with, who by grace making men grateful or acceptable, understand habits, and gifts communicated by God; and they do most frivolously conclude, that men are made acceptable to God by these; whereas it is only mercy in Christ the Mediator, which doth not only account us dear to itself, but also chose us before we were adorned with any ornaments of gifts. Moreover, if the matter be as those men define, that not only faith in Christ, but gifts and habits of virtues, infused by God, make us acceptable to God, what then shall be said of those who, also out of Christ, have possessed many such excellent gifts as well as we? In which, many of them are not only equal to us, but some of them also excel us; such as are variety of tongues, gifts of healing, prophecy, excellent powers, sharpness of wit, strength of body, ornaments of mind. The Jews have a strong hope in God. The Turks maintain love towards one another. But shall we affirm that those men also are by these things made acceptable to God? which is absurd and unreasonable. Therefore, that we may conclude, we confess that such gifts are things which adorn this life, beautify nature, and declare the liberal bounty of God, but which nevertheless neither regenerate nor justify us in the sight of God. For that is due to Christ only by faith; neither is it convenient to attribute it to any other creatures whatsoever. According to that of St. Paul, Being justified therefore by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the mean while I am not ignorant what they answer here; that they treat not of those works which the heathen perform by the strength of nature; nor those works, which are done by the Jews without faith, by the guidance of the law only, but those works which are of the faith of Christ. "What then," say they, "are not such excellent performances of works pleasing to God? Is not that very pleasing and acceptable to God, whatsoever is right, whatsoever is joined with virtue and honesty, whatsoever being undertaken with faith, is rightly performed according to duty and piety?" To answer this, three things must be observed, first, What manner of works these are which are discoursed of, whether perfect or not? And then, How they please, of themselves, or upon the account of faith? Thirdly, How much they please, whether so much as to deserve eternal life and obtain the pardon of

violated righteousness; and being set against the wrath of God, to turn away all vengeance, and be effectual to satisfy justice without any remission of sins? For all these must be regarded with necessary attention, because God, the great Creator of the world, is perfectly holy in his own nature, and the perfection of all goodness; it is evident that nothing is of itself acceptable to him, and well-pleasing, which being defiled with any spot of imperfection, doth not agree in all respects to the most exact purity.

But now, seeing it is most true "that there is no man hath led his life so exactly, that in the whole course of his life he hath not been guilty of any gross offence," and that there is not any state of mind so framed by divine grace, although it abounds with divine benefits, in which nothing was ever violated by perfidiousness, or offensive through error of mind, or omitted through negligence; or which doth not more consist of the remission of sins, than the perfection of virtues—what remains but that it should either be false which some boast of human perfection, or at least it behoves that something should be searched for, besides the virtues themselves, which may commend these first beginnings of our imperfections to the divine perfection, and reconcile them to his favour.

This then remains to be searched into—What it is that reconciles sinners to God, and restores them to his favour? and because this reconciliation cannot be perfected by the righteousness of our virtues; therefore we must confess that all the office of reconciling consists in the grace of God only; which the papists themselves will not deny unto us, agreeing that man is justified by grace. But what place is there for grace, if heaven is given, not by the free gift of the bestower, but to the merits of holy men, as you say? And what will you answer Paul the apostle, who denies that grace is any more grace, if men deal with God by works? whence that may be brought with just cause which Augustine of old brought in his contending with the ancient Pelagians of his time. For thus you plead, "That heaven is justly and deservedly given to the merits of holy men." On the contrary, Augustine being taught by apostolic authority, saith, "If it is given to any merits, it is not then given freely, but is rendered as due; and by this means, it is not by a true name called grace, where the reward, as the apostle speaks, is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt. But that it

may be true grace, that is, free, it finds nothing in man to whom it should be due; otherwise, according to the mind of the apostle, grace would not be grace." And now, with what fair colours cast on them, will those things, being contrary to one another, be made to agree? Augustine, with St. Paul affirms, that grace finds nothing in man to which it should be due; that it may be free. On the contrary, the papists contend that heaven is given as a due debt to the merits of the saints. What is more contrary? "Grace," saith he, "doth not only help the righteous man, but also justifies the ungodly:" in which there appears a two-fold effect and fruit of divine grace, both in helping the righteous, and justifying the ungodly: with the one of which you, being contented, either unworthily pass by the other, or which is more abominable, you oppose it wickedly, whilst you admit no grace of justifying, but that which seems to be joined with virtue, and the justice of merits.

Now we acknowledge this to be most certain, that there is not any thing but what should be referred to the grace of God; whence Jerome accounts it for sacrilege, if any man thinks he can abstain from sinning without grace. But here there is need to explain what the word grace signifies according to the caution of the gospel. For grace in the holy scriptures, is not only understood concerning the help of the Holy Spirit, but it comprehends both free imputation, which is by Christ (which the papists cannot endure) and the help of the Holy Spirit in performing the offices of virtues.

31. *How the papists and protestants agree and differ in understanding the word Grace.*

Now as both papists and protestants seem to attribute man's justification to grace, herein they both agree. But they say this after their manner of speaking, and we after ours. For this is the difference between them and the protestants, that the papists, by the name of grace, understand only gifts that are conferred upon those that are justified, namely, habits, which they call infused, and excellent endowments of lovely virtues, and other things of that kind, wherewith the elect are adorned by the free gift of God. But the protestants, being otherwise taught by the scriptures, and being confirmed by the sayings of the fathers, perceiving these very gifts of the Spirit of God, as long as

they live in this flesh, are imperfect, through our default; they deny that men can be justified by these, because divine justice cannot at all be satisfied by these. And therefore it is, that they attribute justification only to the grace and mercy of God; which consists not of any remuneration of virtues, but rather imputation of righteousness, and forgiveness of sins. For we do not find fault with this in them, that they do rightly affirm, that all our good works should be referred to the grace of God; which neither the Jews themselves nor the Turks will deny. But we justly disapprove that they do not define this grace according to scripture. For grace is defined by this sort of men, that it is nothing else but a habit infused by God, like his own goodness and love, whereby he that hath it is rendered acceptable to God; and it makes works acceptable to him, and meritorious. It is easily demonstrated, both by scriptures and reason, how faulty this definition is, because the thing defined is of a larger extent than the definition. For the grace whereby God loved Jacob, and hated Esau, before they did either good or evil, was grace; which yet was not any habit, either begotten in them by the power of nature, or infused by grace, whereby Jacob, that had it, if I may use their words, was rendered acceptable to God. After the like manner, the grace which, in the midst of his persecution of saints, changed Paul into an instrument in the hand of electing grace, was not an infused habit, but went before an infused habit, and first made him a man acceptable to Christ, before the habit making acceptable was infused. The same should be said of the thief, the publican, the leper, and many others in the history of the gospel, who were not saved by an infused habit, but only by an infused faith; for otherwise what did that word so often repeated in the gospel signify, Thy faith hath saved thee? Which word, if it be true, then either faith is righteousness, or else righteousness can by no means save us. And the same reason is to be given of the conversion of the Gentiles; whom of old the grace of God brought from impure paganism to the communion of the gospel; not for any inherent righteousness, but for His great love wherewith he loved the unworthy and the wretched sinners.

Moreover, what shall be said of the apostles themselves, whom Christ verily chose, not being just, as Augustine speaks, but to be justified; when he said; I chose you out

of the world? What if Christ chose them out of the world, that they might be just? then they were first unjust in the world, whom he chose out of the world, that they might be just. If they were first just, and not sinners of the world, whom Christ chose out of the world; then they first chose Christ, that they, being just, might be chosen by him. But it was not so, for he himself says to them, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you."

These things said Augustine, by which it evidently appears how our election and justification, purchased by Christ, is perfected; not by any righteousness of works, but only by the free gift of grace; whence it is called by Paul the election of grace, not of righteousness, by this argument. What if it is by grace, saith he, it is not now by works, or else grace is not grace; but if it is of works, then it is not grace; or else work would not be work. Which things being so, it necessarily follows, that the righteousness, which is wholly exercised in the observance of works, is not rightly called grace.

Moreover the grace of God, which is his free indulgence, because it hath no place properly, but where vengeance would be just; neither is there any just vengeance, where perfect righteousness flourishes. It is not a doubtful case in this place, whether all that we have should be referred to the grace and bounty of God. For who is so ignorant as to doubt thereof? neither is it a matter of doubt, whether the pious works of christians are pleasing to God? but whether christians do so please God upon the account of their pious works, that they are therefore justified, that they escape wrath, that being dead they revive, that they put on immortality, that they are received into heavenly glory. This your whole discourse contends for, as if there were no other way, or manner of turning away the wrath of God, and purchasing eternal life, but by the continual exercise of charity, and pious and holy actions; and because all instruction of living well, proceeds not only from the strength of our nature, but from the grace of God, which is purchased by faith.* Therefore, whatsoever you, any where, in reading the holy scriptures of God, meet with of the words grace and faith, presently you wrest that as a most sure testimony to confirm the righteousness of good works, and also to the defence of grace and faith. Whence all their reasoning and discourse of good works is

* Osor. lib. iii. p. 68, 69. lib. iv. 103, 104.

of this kind. God doth not see and crown our works in us, but his own. And for that cause they rail at the Lutherans as enemies of grace.

There is no need here to warn you, pious reader, what should be judged of the designs and discoursings of those men, and what you yourself must beware of—with what deceit they prevent the simplicity of the apostolic doctrine, with what darkness they cover their own deceits; what man is so void of understanding, or hath been so little exercised in the reading of sacred things, but may with his eyes shut discern, how these things are not at all agreeable to the mind of the apostle? By which there is an easy opportunity given to judge, what should be judged of this whole generation of men and their church, which they, by a false name, boast to be catholic; which broaches amongst the common people, these monsters of errors, and tares of opinions, defends them in schools, preaches them in churches; which sends forth into the midst of us such dogmatists, and artificers of deceits, who not only corrupt the small veins and rivulets of sincere doctrine, but also proceed to the fountains themselves, and would invalidate the foundations of apostolic institution, and cut and tear the very sinews of the simple verity. For what greater injury can be done to the scriptures of God? What more cruel against the grace of Christ, what more hostile against the mind of Paul, and more gross against the soundness of the christian faith, can be said or devised than what those Roman potters have contributed by their commentitious deceits, to the plague and ruin of the christian commonwealth? For, what may we judge should be hoped for concerning the common religion, the sins of every one, and the state of the christian commonwealth, if the matter come to this, that this largeness of evangelical mercy being taken away or contracted, we must be called back again to the account of good works?

32. *Concerning the virtue and efficacy of divine grace.*

But those men will deny that they detract anything from the grace of God; yea, they say that this is the common sin of the Lutherans, not theirs, because all that they drive at is to maintain the mercy of God, and to celebrate it with due praises. They say, "Do not the pious works of the saints please God? "Well, and what next?" Should not the

same works, having proceeded from God himself the author, be referred to his bounty and mercy?" Why not?

Such as do not attribute salvation to good works, should they be therefore supposed to attribute nothing to works, or to cast reproach upon the grace of God? On the contrary, they that detract the promise of eternal life from the christian faith, shall they be accounted friends to grace?

By the same reason we may turn light into darkness, and darkness into light. Let Christ remain in his sepulchre, let Moses rise again to be judge of the living and the dead! But what arguments do they rely upon in disputing thus? "Because," say they, "works of righteousness flow from the fountain of divine grace." But, is not faith in Christ the Mediator, as singular a gift of God? and does it not proceed from the election of divine grace?

Whatsoever way these men form their argument, or reform it, they shall never be able to prove that the works of the law, whether such as we ourselves have wrought, or such as the divine grace works in us, do contain in themselves any cause of salvation. For what manner of consequence is this? "Because habitual influences of works, which make us acceptable to God, proceed no otherwise but from co-operating grace, therefore faith, without inherent righteousness, doth not justify, neither doth salvation consist of any other thing but good works." But because there is a twofold sort of works, one of those which go before faith, another of those which follow faith, I would know of which of those two parts they understand it. If of the precedent, they will not deny those to be sins. For that which is not of faith is of sin. But if they understand it of works subsequent to faith, they will say that those are either perfect or imperfect. If perfect, and of such a sort that they answer the things commanded in the law, not only according to the substance, but also according to the manner of doing, to what purpose then is that daily saying of the church, Forgive us our debts? Or what will they answer to Augustine, who evidently confutes what they maintain?

On the contrary, if they are imperfect, languid, and lame, upon what account will those things make us acceptable to God the Judge, which are of themselves defective, and besprinkled with faults, and spots, and need another grace, by the commendation whereof they may be pleasing to God? What if that infinite and eternal purity, for the most part,

in the Levitical sacrifices, did not endure whatever seemed any way defective, or deformed, or defiled with the least pollution, and which was not exquisitely entire and blameless in all respects—if so great integrity of all parts was required in the Levites and priests, that it was not lawful to suffer any one to enter into the holy place of the sanctuary, who was wounded in any member of his body, or deformed in any part—do you think that you can endure the presence of the most holy God with that half-torn and ragged imperfection? Wherefore, seeing it must needs be perfect and unblamable upon all accounts, which by justification indemnifies and frees us from all sin before the dreadful tribunal of most perfect righteousness; surely no man can believe that it consists in our works, but only in the works of the Son of God; not those which his habitual grace works in us, but those which he himself hath both graciously undertaken to do for us, and also, having undertaken them, hath performed them to the full.

33. *What benefits come to us from Christ, and what should be chiefly regarded in these benefits.*

Now this is it in which chiefly the unspeakable amplitude of divine grace towards us doth evidently shine forth —that God, the almighty Governor and Creator of the world, according to his singular mercy, wherewith he hath loved the world, having given his Son, sent him to us, and so sent him, that he for us hath fulfilled all righteousness. For there was no need that he should fulfil it for himself, and if he hath fulfilled it for us, what hinders now, but that may be ours which was done for us? or to what purpose should he do that for us, which he knew was necessary to be done by ourselves for our salvation? But if according to the saying of Aquinas, "Whatsoever things we can do by friends, we ourselves are said to be able to do it in some respect;" how much better may we ourselves be supposed, both to be able to do, and also to have done those things, which a friend is not only able to do for us, but hath also done for us! And this is that grace chiefly, which every where the evangelical writings sound forth unto us; unto which both all our consolation and salvation should be referred; which Paul the apostle, having received from Christ, did propagate with such continued labour among the Gentiles, and taught it with so great fervour of spirit, and made it evident with so many signs and miracles, and

also confirmed it with so many scriptures and most sure testimonies.

Wherefore, those papists are the more worthy to be abhorred as being enemies to antiquity, and enemies to Paul, who seem to be busied about nothing else, but to abolish the gospel of Christ, and to overturn the foundations of the doctrine of the apostles, that have been long since very well laid by our first fathers, and endeavour to sow another gospel in the minds of christians. For what else doth all their doctrine drive at, who disputing about grace, faith, and righteousness, do so handle the matter by their philosophical principles, that he who observes their collections, distinctions, corollaries and opinions, will perceive that they do not teach as christians out of the gospel, out of Christ, out of Paul, but that the ancient philosophers of the old academy, or the Talmudists of the law of Moses are again risen up and alive. Except that this only difference is between them and the ancient philosophers, that these do palliate with the name of grace, and faith, in words, at least in some manner; but in reality, as touching the signification of the word grace, or the force of the word faith, they seem to be so very blind, as if they had read Paul little, or at least had not at all understood him. I do not rail at the men themselves, whom I rather account worthy of pity, but it is not at all convenient to endure the errors of men, because they cast no small blot upon religion, and are injurious to Christ, and do violence to Paul, and overthrow the simplicity of the christian faith. Moreover, they adulterate all the sincerity of evangelical doctrine with their niceties, and after a certain manner subdue it unto human philosophy. Which, that it may appear the more evidently to the minds and eyes of beholders, let it not be tedious to you to hearken first, what divine truth, and then, what human opinions teach us.

But, because there are two things chiefly, in which the whole sum both of our salvation and religion is contained, grace and faith, of which the one belongs to God towards men, the other to men towards God, it very much concerns christians, that their minds be very well instructed in both. And grace indeed is discerned in those good things that are given to us, and promised by God. Faith is exercised in those offices, which are chiefly due from us to God, and are greatly requisite. Therefore, that we may rightly apprehend the nature of grace, we must see what

and how great those gifts are, which the bounty of God hath partly bestowed upon us, and partly promised. Concerning which it remains that we should examine what the scribblers of popish divinity do hold. Now, what they teach about this matter, is for the most part to this purpose. They place the end of human life in blessedness, and the school-divines dispute about this very blessedness just after such a manner as the philosophers of old did of their chief good; unto which they said every man must endeavour, according to his power, to attain by industry and diligent labours, and the merits of the greatest virtues.

And when the former Pelagians affirmed that we could do that by the strength of nature, there were not wanting others at the same time, who valiantly opposing the help of the grace of God to free-will, successfully rejected and exploded this wicked opinion, by the scriptures. After this came another kind of divines, who, having followed Augustine, disputed thus against the Pelagians, that we cannot so much as will good by free-will without grace, or merit eternal life by any means without grace. And that is true indeed. But inasmuch as those same men, joining grace again, deny not that we can merit life by works, and that according to their worth, what difference is there between these and the Pelagians, except that in the manner of working they somewhat differ? for those work without grace, these no otherwise but by grace; but both do equally err from the scope of true justification. For as untrue as it is, that it is in our power to perform any thing aright without the grace of God, it is again as false, that this grace of working was not given by God for any other purpose, but to produce meritorious works, whereby we may be justified. Though I deny not, by any means, that the divine grace of the Spirit is both fruitful and abounding with the greatest virtues, which can never be idle; but it doth not therefore follow by sufficient strength of reason, that the reward of eternal salvation is due to the merits of these virtues, as the generality of sophisters chatter with a great noise in schools. For thus Thomas Aquinas, the prince of this faction, and the others that are partakers of his discipline, discourse of grace; and in their summularies do define this grace, as if it were nothing else but a certain habitual infusion of the heavenly gift in the essence of the soul, because, as they suppose, it is a principle of meritorious works; for so Thomas defines it. And Guillermus

not much differing from him, calls this grace, a form freely given to us by God without merits, which makes him that hath it acceptable, and makes his work good, and meritorious. Of these then is a common definition made up, and it thus defines grace unto us—that it is a gift of good will freely given, making its possessor acceptable, and rendering his work good.* And Albert shows the manner how it makes a man good; inasmuch as by infused virtues, as he says, it perfects the will of man for act.

By these things, it will appear evident enough what opinion hitherto hath been usual amongst those men in the popish school. In which neither their divines themselves are well enough agreed with one another; for some place this habitual gift of influencing grace, in the essence of the soul subjectively, that I may speak in their own dialect, amongst whom is Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. Others chose rather to refer it, not to the essence, but to the powers of the soul as its proper subject, of whom is Scotus, and the allies of that order.

Again, There are those who think grace is nothing else but a virtue, which is the thing that Osorio strongly defends in his books. And Thomas confutes this heresy with much greater strength, and bears it down with suitable reasons. But the sum of all their sums drives at this, that faith only may be excluded from justification, and that they may not acknowledge any other justification, but what consists in exercising of works. Neither do they think this grace to be given to us upon any other account, but for this end, to fulfil, as they say, the commands of God, according to the due manner, without which the fulfilling of them cannot otherways be meritorious.

34. *The error of the Tridentines in defining Grace, is examined.*

I have explained the sayings of some divines, which differ several ways from one another, yet they are all wonderfully agreed in this—that they may take away from sinners that saving grace which alone justifies us. Let us join also unto these, if you please, the sophisters of later times, and especially the nobles of Trent, and the heretics of that council, whose writings, opinions, and decrees, when they are read, what do they declare? It may be said in a

* Tho. xii. q. 109. Art. 6. Guillerm. in sentent. lib. ii. qu. xxvi. Art. 1. Albert. in sentent. lib. ii. dist. xxvi. Art. 2.

word, and truly—nothing that is sound, nothing that is not full of error, nothing that does not disagree with the genuine verity of the word. But what that error is, lest we should seem to accuse them without cause, let us explain in a few words, but true. Namely, seeing there is a twofold testimony of the grace of the Father towards us in the scriptures; the one, whereby in a free gift he bestowed his Son upon us; the other, whereby he bestowed his Spirit; the Son to die for us, the Spirit to sanctify our life; there is not any man, but should confess that they are both great gifts. He gave his Son, than whom nothing was dearer to him; he bestows his Spirit, than which nothing is higher in heaven. But for what purpose doth he bestow both? how does he give them for our advantage? for what end? with what fruit? what did he design in so doing? by what reason was he persuaded? by what necessity? by what mercy was the most gracious Father and Maker of the world moved? I would very willingly ask this first, either of Thomas Aquinas, or rather of those Tridentine fellow-priests. For if free-will, being helped by the grace of the Spirit of God, as they say, could do so much by meriting through the infused virtues, even as much as was sufficient for obtaining salvation, what cause then was there why all this charge should be put upon Christ the Son of God? What need was there of his blood? Why did not the most gracious Father spare his life? But if so be that all other helps of grace could afford no help to expedite the business of our redemption; then it remains to be asked of those men, what they affirm of Christ, whether they acknowledge him the only Saviour or not? And indeed I know that they will not deny that Christ is the only Saviour. But in the mean while it remains that they should answer unto this, after what manner this only Saviour saves his own, whether only by his innocency and death, or by adding other helps besides? Now if they judge that other securities are necessarily required, it must be known what sort of securities these are. Aquinas, with his associates, answers that those are gifts procured by the Holy Spirit, and habitual infusions of charity, and the like faculties of exercising righteousness, which helps unless they are added, the death of Christ, according to his opinion, is not of such efficacy that it should be able enough of itself alone to merit salvation.

And now, what then if those are added? Doth then at

length full and perfect righteousness arise from these together, *partly* from the blood of Christ, and *partly* from renovation by new qualities, which may reconcile us being justified unto God. For thus Andradius with his fellow Tridentines divides justification, which Paul attributes simply to faith, into two parts; of which he affirms that the one consists in the remission of sins, and the other in the obedience of the law. Oh the pest of sophistical divinity, and intolerable deceits! For by this distinction it will come to pass, that Christ is not the only Saviour, nor a complete one, but the Spirit that bestows these qualities.* For if the only formal cause of our justification consists in nothing but only the renovation of the inner man, by a willing receiving of grace and gifts; what shall now remain that may be attributed to Christ the Saviour and his blood, but that he should only give a colour to our merits, which being so coloured may bring us directly into heaven? But if it be so, that the death of Christ alone doth not fully complete our redemption; to what purpose, or what way did he say it was finished, when his passion was finished? Or how are all things in heaven and in earth reconciled by the blood of his cross, as Paul witnesseth? Moreover, the same Paul, in many places, and in all his epistles, places the price of redemption in no other thing, but only in the blood and cross of the Son of God: In whom, saith he, we have redemption through his blood: but how shall we say that all things are reconciled by blood, if charity and the other gifts of renovation, and merits, are the things which make us acceptable to God, and claim unto themselves the greatest part of our reconciliation? What is this else, but to thrust Christ down, not only from his office, but also from the throne of his glory.†

35. *Concerning the reward and merits of good works.*

What then? Are there no merits then, say they, of the righteous? Is there no reward by way of merit left in

* Then the Spirit is communicated, when, at the coming of righteousness we are made righteous; when all our sins being extinguished, we are renewed by charity spread abroad in our hearts by the Spirit; which charity, because it informs the mind with the love of the divine law, is called righteousness. *Marginal note.*

† Christ only, by his personal office, is a Saviour, and the Holy Spirit by his office is a Helper and Comforter of them that are saved. *Marginal note.*

heaven, which Christ promises to be so plentiful in the scriptures? What, will all that provision of inherent righteousness avail us nothing towards life? Will so many labours and store of most holy works profit nothing, wherewith we, being clothed by the Holy Spirit, are advanced daily more and more towards the fulness of righteousness? Augustine will answer to these things, and first of merits.

"If you ask," saith he, "whether there are no merits of the righteous? There are indeed, because they are righteous; but there were no merits, that they might be righteous. For they were made righteous when they were justified." Therefore, they were not made righteous by merits, if we believe Augustine, but merits proceed from the just. By which you may understand, that a person is not valued by the dignity of his works or his grace; but that the dignity of merits receives its value from the justified person. Wherefore, seeing men are not made righteous by merits, as Augustine witnesseth, but merits receive their virtue and dignity from the justified, it easily appears from hence, what should be judged of reward by way of merit. For if, after the like manner it be asked, whether there is no reward of the saints in heaven: that which Augustine answers concerning the merits of the righteous, the same do I also acknowledge concerning the reward of the saints, that the saints want not a reward, and that a large one in the heavens. For they who are holy, a reward shall be appointed for them, not for the works themselves, because they are holy, but because they that work are holy.

For not heaven, but a reward in heaven is given, not to holy works, but to the workers. But if any proceed to ask, whence they are holy? I return to Augustine, "That they are holy from thence, whence they are also made just; not by works, but by the faith of the workers." As for example; if any heathen or pharisee, who is a stranger to the faith of Christ, should do this that a christian does, though he should do also greater things, yet the works would not please God. And why should his works displease? or why should the works of a christian please, unless it were for faith? And that is it which prophetical verity in old time foretold should come to pass, that the just should live by faith—he says not that the faithful should live by righteousness. By which you see, that this life, whereby we live by the faith of the Son of God, is not rendered unto the merits of works, but consists of faith and grace;

for grace and the gift of God is eternal life. If grace, where is reward? If a gift, where then is merit?

But what shall be said in the mean while unto testimonies that are frequent in the scriptures, which oftimes propose great rewards to pious works? First, it is to be considered that by the very name of obedience, debt and duty are implied. Now the obedience we owe, can properly deserve no grace. What man at any time commanding a hired servant to do his duty, bestows grace or praise upon him for that which he owed upon the account of obedience, or therefore doth assign unto him any portion of his inheritance? What does the Lord himself answer to such servants in the gospel? Say ye, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do. Now then, wherefore are those things called by the name of reward, which God renders unto our good deeds? The answer thereunto is—God proposes rewards: verily so he does: but the same God proposes dangers and combats. The most excellent Master of the wrestlings sees what and how great storms of temptations must be undergone, how many labours must be endured, how many difficulties lie before them. He sees through how many casualties and dangers, the strait way to the kingdom must be undertaken by them who are planted in Christ. And therefore, that they may not faint in their minds, but proceed with the greater courage in their undertaken warfare, rewards are showed to them, as certain prizes and recompenses of victory, to stir up their minds; whereby the most gracious Father may mitigate the crosses of his own servants, and comfort them in their sufferings, with proposing hope of rewards.

And hence is that frequent mention of reward and recompenses in the scriptures. Not that those things which the saints suffer in this life, are worthy of rewards. For the sufferings of this time are not worthy of the glory that shall be revealed in us: but because it so seemed good to the clemency of God, to esteem those merits of ours which are none, as if they were merits indeed; and to crown them, as if they were very great, which deserve no grace at all. For, who hath thanked a servant, as the gospel witnesses, for the service which he owed to his Master after he did his commands? and who would not rather have punished him, if he had not done them? But if he find any praise or reward beyond his merit, he hath cause to give thanks to his master, but not to boast of his own merits. Therefore

Augustine admonishes rightly and understandingly: "If you would be a stranger to grace, boast of your merit." And Bernard was not wholly without sight, though he saw not all things, when he said it was sufficient for merit, to know that merits are not sufficient.

Briefly, that we may express the thing in a word, whatsoever it is, which is called a reward in mystical writings, is nothing else but grace proposed in the place and name of reward. What if this present life, which we enjoy in the flesh, if the conveniency of life, and other ornaments, though transitory and temporary, are very rightly accounted, not to be our merits, but the gifts of God, how much more rightly shall that heavenly and everlasting reward of life, wherewith the most gracious Father crowns us, seem to proceed, not from the dignity of our works, but from his singular mercy and grace. Which though sometimes it takes the name of reward, yet if we rightly consider the matter, we shall find nothing in all this whole fabric of our redemption, but the only and singular grace of God.

First, because he endued thee with faith, and the knowledge of his Son: and because afterwards he washes thee in the saving laver of faith, and because having washed thee, he calls thee forth to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints, translating thee into the kingdom of his Son, whom he freely gives unto thee: and adopts thee for his Son together with him, and appoints thee for his heir. Because he promises the hereditary kingdom, and adorns, changes, refreshes, and comforts thee with his Spirit; beautifies thee with virtues, justifies thee by faith, overlooks very many of thy sins, esteems thy good deeds which are very small, as if they were the greatest, and rewards them as if they were eminent.

He brings thee forth to the combat, looks upon thee fighting, adds strength to thee, guards thee with patience, restores thee when fallen, gives thee a way of escape in temptations, and raises thee up when thou art dead, and exalts thee to the mansions of never perishing glory.

What do you contemplate in these, but the boundless and altogether infinite greatness of grace? And to comprehend all that hath been said of it, whatsoever it is that we are, or shall be, that we move, that we live, and are to live—what is it but the grace of God that showeth mercy? Not of man that willeth or runneth. Examine and search

yourself, and all things that are yours: first consider your vocation, who calls thee to this grace? it regards those only whom divine grace sets apart for itself, not those that are puffed up with human learning, not those that are of the noblest extraction, and dignified with the high titles of their ancestors; but God hath chiefly chosen the base and unpolished things of this world, which seemed contemptible and of small value, according to the vulgar opinion. And that I may express it in a word, those things that were nothing he exalts unto the highest sublimity. Why so, but that he may have all the glory to his own free grace, and no place for glorying left for human endeavours and merits? Of which thing, if any man require more sure examples, let him call to mind the calling of Peter, with the rest of the fishermen, that were his fellow apostles; and chiefly let him admire the stupendous history of Paul's conversion: in whom, if we look at his very original, as Augustine speaks, and seek for his merits, we shall find that they belonged to damnation, not to salvation.

35. *The calling of God and his grace, are free and gratuitous, beyond all merits of our works.*

Let us come down nearer to ourselves, and now take example from thyself, christian brother, whosoever thou art. Consider with yourself both what you now are, and what formerly you have been. You stand in faith; who gave it you? You continue in the faith; who upholds you? You are assaulted by temptations, and do not succumb; who helps you? You are perpetually in danger amongst so great a multitude that perish; who supports you? You sin daily; who forgives you? Dangers, terrors, miseries, weariness, besiege you on every side; who gives you help? Moreover, whithersoever you turn yourself, what do you see else, but all arguments of favour and grace, which take away from men all confidence in works, and glorying in merits? And where then is that thrice accursed curse of the Tridentines, whereby all and every one are devoted to the dreadful destruction of damnation, who setting aside the helps, the coadjutorship of merits, assert that the grace of God whereby we are justified, consists only in the favour of God? And whoever dare say that a man is justified by the imputation of Christ's righteousness only, or by the remission of sins only, whilst charity doth not together with it communicate its influence in the

hearts of the godly, and that the grace of working well is not joined thereunto ?* Which, if it be true, what should be judged of the prophets, what should be judged of Christ himself, who are of a contrary judgment? We must either acknowledge that those were destitute of the Spirit of God, or else that those Tridentine sanctions are contrary to divine grace. The prophet cries with a loud voice, the apostle also cries, that it is not of him that runneth or willeth, but of God that showeth mercy.

And, will the Tridentine counsellors remonstrate against this—that man's salvation consists only in the favour of God? Wherein then? Running, say they, must be added, and the choice of free-will must be added thereto. Who denies it? We run all of us, each one for his own portion, being placed in our stage by God. For the christian life is a race, not a play; an exercise, not a vacuity from business; a warfare, not slothfulness. Be it so indeed, yet in this same race how unhappily do we oftimes run! How often do we stumble! How many ways do we fall, how blind and traversed a way do we often go! And so sometimes we run headlong, either wandering every one his own way, as the prophet speaks, or with the sheep of the gospel wander sometimes out of the folds. But we return presently, say you, into the way—it is well. But who is it that calls you back? Your own will, or the grace of Him that hath mercy? I see that you return, and I praise it; but to whom is this praise due? To the strength of your will, or to free mercy? And now teach me what this running of yours deserves. You only look at how much you proceed in running, but you do not also take heed how much you fail in your race. And, after all, do you yet boast of your merits, as if the reward of the everlasting state were due to your labours?

In these assertions I do not aim to dissolve the pious endeavours of making progress, or to dishearten them by desperation. For the admonition of the apostle is not in vain; So run that ye may obtain. And again; No man is crowned, except he strive lawfully. Let us therefore so strive, that we may be crowned; let us so run that we may obtain. But we do not therefore obtain, because we run; but we do therefore run, because the promise is made to them that run, not to them that slumber. So that the running is not the cause of the promise, but the

* Trident. Concil. Sess. 6. Canon 11.

promise stirs up to running, and adds alacrity to the runners. Therefore, the apostle, that he may make them the more valiant in striving, adds this promise, Your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. And, speaking of himself, I have fought, saith he, the good fight; and a crown of righteousness is laid up for me. What then, do you not see that labours well performed have their own reward due to them?

Be it so, indeed: but we treat not here of the labours of men, but of the merits of labours; we do not ask, with what rewards the goodness of God dignifies us, but what we ourselves deserve to receive? For there is no small difference between gift and merit. If merit is called that to which a recompense of reward is due, by reason of its equality, it is certain there is no equality between those things which we do here on earth, and those things which, being promised, we expect in heaven. The inheritance of the everlasting kingdom is promised, not that which upon the account of hire is due to our works, but that which is promised to our faith by the free gift of God.

Whence Paul, when he said, The wages of sin is death, he doth not add next thereunto, The reward of them that live godly is life eternal: but, The grace, saith he, or the gift of God is eternal life.

And why doth he not as well say, the reward of righteousness is eternal life, but that the difference between gift and reward, between grace and recompense, might be evident? For if it is of grace, then it is not of works: if of works, then it is not of grace. But now, that he might manifest the infinite riches of divine grace towards us through Christ Jesus, he proclaims openly that we are saved, through grace, by faith. And that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast. Which also elsewhere inculcating more clearly, he says, Not by works of righteousness which we have done. —How then? But according to his mercy hath he saved us.

And now what is that mercy, but the favour and loving-kindness of God, which, remitting the rigour of justice, spares those that are unworthy, pardons the penitent, receives into favour them that are undone, which favour or mercy also glories against judgment? All which being so, what should be said of the hypocritical fathers of Trent, who by the public decree of their senate pronounce those

accursed, whosoever dare say, that the grace of God, whereby we are justified, is only the favour of God?*

36. *The absurd paradox of the Tridentines, whereby they deny that we are justified by the favour of God only.*

By what then will they say that we are justified, if we obtain it not by the favour of God only? By the law? But that works wrath. By the works of the law? The apostle expressly excludes those; Not of works, lest any man should boast. But here may be called to mind the ordinary gloss of the schoolmen on Rom. vi. which resolves no difficulty, but makes one by its subtle comment, partly affirming that we are justified by works, and partly denying it. For thus it says, "Our works, as they are ours, have no power to justify, yet consider them as they are not from us, but are wrought by God in us through grace, they merit justification. And for that cause the apostle would not say, the wages of righteousness is eternal life; but chose rather to say, the grace of God is eternal life." Why so? "Because (saith this device) those merits to which eternal life is rendered, are not from us, but they come from grace, whence they receive the virtue of meriting." Oh, wild talk to vilify grace! What if the Spirit of Christ, influencing the hearts of his own, stirs up the holy offices of charity, and excellent motions to piety? Doth not the same Spirit also vouchsafe all other gifts to his church, bestowing on some gifts of prophecy, on others divers kinds of tongues, on others admirable virtues of curing and healing, and on others of teaching, for the edification of the saints? Shall we therefore place our whole justification in those gifts received from Christ?

I know that there are both many and eminent virtues, wherewith the Spirit of Christ always adorns his church; but it is one thing to adorn, another thing to justify the church. The gift of sanctification is one thing, the cause of justifying is another: both whereof, though Christ perform by his grace, yet he sanctifies one way, and justifies another; for he sanctifies by his Spirit, but he saves and justifies only by his death and blood. But you will say, If salvation is not placed in grace, why then is the grace of God called by Paul eternal life? Verily it is certain, and must be confessed, which Paul teaches, that our life must be attributed wholly unto grace, to which also it

* Council of Trent. Sess. 6. Canon 11.

behoves us to attribute all other things. But we must look what way this grace saves and justifies ; for it is that on which the whole controversy depends. In which the generality of the adversaries are greatly deceived.

37. *Against the Tridentines, it is demonstrated by the scriptures, that the grace of God, whereby we are justified, consists only in the free favour of God, and remission of sins, not in the merits of works, or infusion of charity.*

Thomas Aquinas, and they that follow him, according to the gloss which they call ordinary, do not deny that which the apostle affirms, That we are saved by the grace of God: but if you ask after what manner, they answer, that it comes to pass upon the account of good works. For these are the words of the gloss. " Grace, is called eternal life, because it is rendered to those merits which grace hath conferred." And to the same sense are the comments of Orbelius, Bonaventure, Halensis, and others, because, say they, without grace no man can observe the commands of God. And Thomas adds elsewhere, that " to fulfil the commands of the law according to the due manner, grace is necessarily requisite to fulfil them with that charity that ought to be, by which the fulfilling of them becomes meritorious." Which comment of theirs, we having formerly explained how false and frivolous it is, there is no need now of any new arguments. Verily the christian doctrine teaches us far otherwise; for though we confess that which is reasonable, that the divine grace is never idle, but always stirs up the minds of the regenerate to the best things ; yet these works are never of so great value, as to promote them unto eternal life ; which is freely promised by God, not to them that work, but to them that believe ; or if salvation is promised to them that work, it is not therefore promised because they work. But they that truly believe, do therefore work, because salvation is promised. Therefore, justification first proceeds in the most direct order, as the cause of good fruits, but that is not effected by these. It consists only of the free favour of Him that confers it upon them, not upon the account of them that merit, but upon another account, namely, that whereby the most bountiful Father, of his own will, hath given to us, meriting nothing, his only begotten Son, who hath fulfilled the law for us, and hath satisfied the justice of God

for our injustice. For herein consists all our salvation, and the efficacy of divine grace, and the praise thereof appears very evidently. Not that we in the mean while being idle, should do nothing; but that doing all things, we should attribute nothing to ourselves, imputing all to the mercy of God.

Which things, that they may be confirmed with the greater evidence and certainty, let us compare them with the most sure oracles of sacred scripture. And first, beginning at the very first head of that book, let us consider Adam, that miserable progenitor, and overturner of our nature; who, when he had both privately and publicly destroyed both himself and us all, by an abominable wickedness, received at length the most blessed tidings of the promised Seed. What could the bounty of God have promised more firmly, or have given more largely to any man, though he had been most holy? And what did that first and chief sinner deserve to receive? Abraham was commanded to leave his native country, and to go out whither God called him; thereunto was added a very glorious promise of giving him an inheritance, and he obeyed Him that called him. The Promiser did not fail; Abraham was increased and enriched above measure; but if I ask, by what merit of his own, what can the admirers of works answer me here? Afterwards Isaac was born to him, when his father and mother were so old, that there was no hope remaining of their having children. Why so; but that God might make it manifest, that in the benefits of God, there is not left any thing for human pride, wherein it may glory? Joseph very kindly helped his brethren, who were in danger to perish for hunger, though they had very inhumanly conspired his destruction; neither did he only furnish them with plenty of corn, but also promoted them to great honours. And now what merits did they bring with them, that they should be so honourably entertained?

The same may be asked concerning the Israelites, who having slain a lamb without blemish, were delivered from most grievous bondage; but for what virtues of their own? Whether for keeping the law? But the law was not yet made, at least it was not yet written. Was it because they obliged the prophet Moses with kindnesses, whom rather they endeavoured to betray by most unjust ways and complaints? After they had endured so many laborious

travels and journeys, they came at length to the promised land of their inheritance, in which, first, the town of Jericho is besieged, the walls fall down, not by strength, but by sounds. Afterwards, having slain and subdued so many kings in one day, the people are placed in their habitations. It was verily a great miracle of victory, but whence happened this victory? What shall we say? Because the Israelites were more in number? Assuredly it was not so. Was it because they were stronger? Neither was that the cause. Did they then excel all the other nations in virtues? What nation was ever more perverse? But will you say, they obliged God to befriend them by observance of his worship? How often and how grievously did they exasperate God with their sins! How wickedly did they murmur against their leaders, and so provoked the anger of God against themselves! How often was the clemency of God, by their perfidious rebellion, wicked contrivances, untractable stubbornness, murmuring concupiscence and perverseness, not only provoked, but also almost overcome; so that he would have utterly destroyed the rebellious people with all their posterity, unless Moses, the meekest of men, by humble prayer, with hands lifted up, had turned the provoked anger of God into mercy. But it is better to take notice, what the Lord himself speaks against this people with his own mouth; Say not in thy heart, when the Lord thy God shall destroy those nations before thee, For my righteousness the Lord brought me in to possess this land, whereas those nations were destroyed for their own abominations. For thou shalt not enter in to possess their lands for thy own righteousness, nor for the uprightness of thy heart, but because they did wickedly they were destroyed at thy entering in. And that the Lord might fulfil the word which he promised by oath to thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Know, therefore, that the Lord thy God hath not given thee this land for thy righteousness, for thou art a stiff-necked people, &c. Deut. ix.

Ye have heard the plain and simple history, but yet true, of that which came to pass, and not only true, but also much more mystical. If all things happened to them, as the apostle witnesseth, 1 Cor. x. under a figure, what else should we judge concerning this history, but that, under the history, lies hid a more hidden mystery. For it cannot be doubted, that this land of Canaan, that was

promised to the Israelites, represents those celestial and immortal mansions of the inheritance above; which if it be true, let us compare the truth with this figure and shadow, the antitype with the type. Just as they, not being helped by any merits of their own, yea, contrary to all their merits, neither for any peculiar cause in them, but through the singular favour of God promising, and for the sake of the fathers, to whom it was promised by oath, received by gift the possession of the country that flowed with milk and honey. So also we should judge of the heavenly country of immortality: that it is not due to any virtues or works of ours, but that it comes to us by the free promise of God, for the sake of his Son, into whose hands all things are given that are in heaven and in earth.

What will the angelical dogmatist (Thomas Aquinas) answer here with his gloss? But either that those things did not happen to them in a figure, and that they belong not at all to us; or he must needs acknowledge that our interests are hereby represented answerable to theirs. That we may proceed in the sacred mysteries of scripture, what shall I now say of those, who, being bitten by serpents, had no other way of recovery but by the serpent set up upon a pole? Again, what shall be said of those in the prophet Jonah, who being in dreadful danger, as soon as they had thrown out Jonah, and had committed him to the mercy of the waters, the tempest being presently quieted, escaped safe with the ship? What else do all these arguments teach, but that, casting away confidence in all other things, and distrusting ourselves, we may account that all the help for our obtaining salvation, is placed in no other thing or virtue but in His death only, who by his blood hath reconciled all things both in heaven and in earth. How often in the psalms, in the prophets, in the gospel, doth the scripture, shutting up all under sin, take away from man, not only merits, but oftimes drives the holiest unto this, by an acknowledgment of his own unrighteousness, that he acknowledges his salvation to be placed, not in those things that are given, but those that are forgiven to him by God. For, as touching the name of merit or reward, if it be found anywhere (for it is found sometimes) let no man from hence flatter himself as if God owed it to any man. But let him know rather upon what account God is said to do that. Not because the deeds, which of themselves are imperfect, deserve life, yea, which

rather stand in need of pardon; but because the bounty of God imputes these works, such as they are, for merits to them who work. Why so? Because they are the works of the faithful; who, if they were not believers, their merits would have no room at all, nor be of any value in the sight of God. As if a father say to a son, If so be thou lovest learning, thou shalt obtain any thing of me, and be my dearly beloved son. By this speech the father doth not so oblige himself to the son, as if for no other cause, but for performing obedience, he would receive him to himself for a son: yea, because he is a son, therefore the father commands what he will, and the son performs what he ought. God useth sometimes thus to propose a recompense and rewards to the regenerate, whereby we may be stirred up to do well. And there is no doubt but the rewards promised will follow the office performed.

But, in the mean while, let us see to whom this promise was made, and for what cause it was made; of which let us understand what is the opinion of Osorio; "God hath promised, to all that live righteously, great wealth, exceeding great pleasures, and an immortal kingdom, very great dignity, everlasting glory," &c.* There are many faults in these argumentations, and that is none of the least, which is committed by making a division not sufficient; in which kind Osorio offends here: for, whereas there are two kinds of promises, very much differing from one another; the one belonging to the law, being annexed unto certain conditions; the other belonging to the gospel, being free, without all condition of law; yet the whole discourse of Osorio is so taken up in that legal kind, that he does not so much as make mention of the other. "God hath promised," says he, "to all that live righteously," &c. That is true, indeed, if we look to those things that belong to the law: for the law, as it hath its threatenings, so also it hath its promises, proposed to them that live unblamably; in which we are commanded to do this and live. Concerning which Paul also saith, Peace and life to every one that doeth good. So then the law promiseth, and the gospel also promiseth, but upon a different account; for they differ in this. The promises of the law regard the desert of life. But the grace of the gospel doth not so much regard the manner of life, as the faith of the person; and measures his dignity, not by the merits of works, but

* Osor. de Just. lib. vi. p. 150.

measures the merits of works themselves, by the faith of the believer, and the dignity of the object only on whom he believes. Wherefore, as touching rewards proposed in the gospel, it is not enough to look only on the things themselves which are proposed, but the consideration must be referred to the faith and person of believers, of what sort they are, whether planted in Christ by faith, or out of Christ, to whom the promise is made? If out of Christ they are servants and unbelievers; no promise or expectation of reward belongs to them. But if in Christ they are sons, and regenerate by faith, then all is due to faith, not to works: it is of grace, and not of merit, whatsoever the father either promises his sons for love's sake, or imputes unto them in the place of a reward. And indeed this imputation, in which all the confidence of our salvation is contained, proceeds from the grace and favour of God only; and also it must be considered that there is a twofold kind of imputation with God; the one, whereby the righteousness of Christ is ascribed to us, and when for his sake, our petty duties are imputed for great, and recompensed with the highest rewards; the other, when he doth not punish, but pardons great crimes in his own that are regenerate. Concerning which the apostle said, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, 2 Cor. v. Rom. iv. Psal. xxxii. But the sons of the papacy do in no ways endure this imputation. Why so? They think it an unworthy thing that any man should be called righteous by another man's righteousness, which is not inherent in himself. This cavilling would be well founded, if our affair were carried on by nature, not by grace; if by law, and not by redemption.

Our debt indeed is infinite, the payment whereof the law doth necessarily require of us. Neither can it be denied that we are not able to pay, nor shall ever be able to pay that debt, if our ability be considered. But what if some rich king intervene, who paying the debt that was owing, gets himself a right to the indebted citizens; and, having freed them from all obligation, makes them subject to his own command; what will those furious and importunate pleaders for works say here? May we not enjoy the bounty of another, because we have no ability of our own? Will they say that no payment is just, but what is paid with a man's own money? That which is done by a friend, for the sake of a friend, is it not just as if it had

been done by himself? If that which was due from us be paid by the price of Christ, is there any law so cruel as to exact the same debt of us again? And what will the adversaries require more here? that he should be condemned for unjust, whosoever hath no righteousness of his own? and, indeed, this is true in judicatories, if no redemption intervene, which may satisfy in the room of another. But now, seeing our affairs are in such a condition that the condemnation of the law hath nothing that it can demand of us; assuredly that is a sufficient plea for us, which was done by him, who made satisfaction for us. But these men again cry out against us, saying, that it cannot be by nature, and that it is no less contrary to all natural reason, that any thing should take its being from that form, which is not its own, but another's.

Answer to this, That it is true indeed formally, as to the essence of a thing, but not judicially. For, though the righteousness of another, which is not inherent in us, cannot render us essentially just who are by nature unjust, nothing hinders but the righteousness of another may help our righteousness, according to judicial imputation. Even as nothing hinders, but the riches of another may be cast upon another's poverty, by a certain communion or imputation of good things; so that he who in himself is poor, yet may be esteemed rich in another: and not unlike unto this is our communion of mutual imputation with Christ; for, as our sins being imputed to Christ, were hurtful to him, even unto the suffering of punishment, so, by the like mystery of dispensation, the righteousness of Christ being adjudged and imputed to us, though it doth not inhere in us essentially, yet in respect of possession and dispensation of judgment it is profitable to us for a reward of life, just as if it had been our own righteousness; for otherwise, to what purpose is Christ said to have done and suffered all these things for us, if what he did and suffered serve not for our advantage? But if they serve for our advantage, why cannot those things be justly accounted for ours, which were undertaken in our name, and for our sake? If the name of imputation so greatly offends them, which they think doth not well agree with christian piety, wherefore doth Paul so often seem not only to use this word imputation, but to delight in it?*

* There is frequent mention of imputation in Paul's writings. *Fox.*

EXTRACTS FROM

THE SECOND BOOK.

CONCERNING

FAITH AND THE PROMISE.

[Fox commences as follows.]

Ye have heard then of grace and merits, of free imputation and remission of sins, on which depends all our justification and salvation. But now, seeing this remission must be received by faith only, it remains that we should treat somewhat of faith, especially that we may confute the calumnies of adversaries, or that, if it be possible, we may help the errors of those that are so great enemies to this manner of justifying, which we affirm to consist of faith only, without works.

Upon which kind of doctrine, if we only, or first of all men should stand, there would be less wonder at so great tumults of these men.

But seeing Christ himself, and Paul and the prophets and apostles profess themselves to be not only witnesses, but also the authors and leaders in this opinion, whereby we are taught, that we are justified only by faith in the Son; when every one of the most learned writers and interpreters, who were of the primitive antiquity, attest the same with unanimous consent, from whose instructions we ourselves also have learned the same, what is come to those popish reasoners, why they should oppose themselves so unreasonably and so fiercely? And now let us consider what that is which so much offends them. Luther disputes that faith is imputed unto righteousness without works. Paul the apostle taught the same before Luther: what will Osorio say unto this? what will the pope of Rome himself say? what will the senators of Trent say? That good works must be joined with it? What! must all good works be joined with it, or not? if they shall say all, where will they find those that have completed this exact cyclopædia of virtues in this life, except the Son of God only? But if they understand it of most, or some good works at least, yet that will not be sufficient.

For unless every one of the virtues, joined together as it were in a mutual bond, are united for righteousness, they cannot profit at all being separate. Who ever loved his neighbour as himself, according to the prescript of the law? But suppose there were some such man—what if such a man rages with concupiscence of the flesh or eyes, though the inward mind doth not consent? What if the mind swells with self-love, or overflows with the pride of life? What if it is enslaved unto covetousness, or somewhere fails in its duty? What advantage will it be to be observant of charity? Briefly, what if it be so, that thou aboundest with all other virtues, but only failest in one command, doth not the sentence of the scripture condemn thee for the violation of the law?

Moreover we may speak in the words of Thomas Aquinas himself, "That if the mind is inwardly guiltless as to any consent unto the sin, yet such is the condition of our nature, that though, through grace, it is healed in respect of the mind, yet in respect of the flesh, by reason of which it serves the law of sin, corruption and infection remain in it, Rom. vii. The obscurity of ignorance remains also in the intellect, concerning which, Rom. viii. "we know not what to pray for as we ought." From all which it remains, that justification consists either in faith only, as the next cause; or that the accession of our virtues, which are neither perfect nor entire, do not at all avail to righteousness before God, but rather to accusation: for, Cursed is every one that abides not in all things that are commanded in the book of the law to do them, Deut. xxvii. Gal. iii.

What is the proper nature and definition of faith, whereby we are justified before God, is inquired into from sure and true foundations of scripture.

By the many things which we have hitherto discoursed of grace, and its gifts, there is a sufficient defence made against the assaults of sophisters, for the guarding of this principle, which assigns all the power of justifying to faith only, through the free mercy of God. But because I see it is not clear enough amongst divines, what that faith is whereof we speak, I thought it requisite to speak something of it in this place; that having surveyed the opinions of others, and rightly explained those things which seem to need distinction about this word, we may at length be led as it were by the footsteps of the word of God, to that true faith, which truly and simply justifies us.

But because the word FAITH is used in various senses, and there are many things that are believed by us, for whatsoever things we find to be true and sure we presently give credit to them, yet any sort of persuasion settled in the mind, though it be true, or any sort of truth about things conceived, doth not therefore, upon that account, justify before God. Therefore, in this so great diversity of things to be believed, we must see what that faith is, whereof all our salvation and righteousness before God consists, and what is the proper and simple definition thereof; whence it receives its power to justify, to whom it belongs, and in what notions it differs from that faith which our adversaries hold.

Luther hath discoursed many things very gravely and excellently of faith, and of the freely saving righteousness of faith. But he understands this faith which justifies us, much otherways than the accusation of his Romish adversaries pretends. Who was ever so mad, as that he judged faith, that it is no other thing, but that every man should have a very good opinion of his own salvation, and should be strongly persuaded thereof in his own mind?

Though in the mean while, we deny not that there is always joined with faith a confidence of good hope, yet if we will rightly examine the proper natures and causes of things, we shall find that there is no small difference between hope and faith. For every man doth not obtain righteousness, upon the account that he is very courageous in hoping well. For otherwise, what Turk or Jew is there, who doth not in his own mind catch at a goodly persuasion about his own salvation, and the gracious favour of God? We may also add unto these the pope of Rome, who by a certain magnifical, but most vain hope, flattering himself, doubts not of his being the only successor of Peter! So also the papists doubt not but as soon as they have whispered their sins into the ears of a priest, by a silent confession, that immediately they go away pardoned after the performance of this work; and when they put the innocent servants of Christ to death for the faith, they do not at all distrust that they do God service, whereas the matter is far otherways.

Therefore, it is requisite to see, not what every man hopes, but how rightly he hopes; not how great his hope is, but how true. The same also must be done in faith. But that it may appear true, it should not be measured by

human opinion, but according to the right rule of scripture. Neither is it only requisite to look, what any one promiseth, but to whom and for what it is promised. There are wonderful and infinite things, which the bounty of God promises in the way of free gift. For salvation and life eternal is promised. Yet these good things are not therefore promised, because they are hoped by us; but we therefore hope because they are promised. So then hope doth not go before the promise, as a cause, and make it, but follows it as an effect, and it depends upon the promise, and not the promise upon it. By which you see that it is not hope, no, not when it is most right, that justifies us, and renders us capable of the promise of God, but some other thing. What is that, I beseech you, but FAITH, to which properly the promise is made? For the covenant of eternal life properly is made with us believing, and not only hoping, that is, not for the sake of that which is hoped, but for the sake of that on which faith relies.*

[Fox then proceeds to expose the sophistries and fallacies of the Romanists in their numerous definitions of the word, Faith. To follow them through these scholastic mazes was important at that day, but now would neither interest nor profit the general reader. We may therefore here confine ourselves to some extracts wherein Fox gives the more scriptural views of the protestant faith.]

I do not deny that the death of Christ is truly meritorious; and let the adversaries consider diligently what it hath merited. "That the spiritual help," say they, "of divine grace and charity to perform the law, might be diffused into us." What then? Died Christ for no other cause, but that he might obtain the gift of charity for mortal men to perform the law? Did he not rather die upon this account, that he might blot out the hand-writing which was against us in the law, having nailed it to his cross, that he might take away the enmity, and might destroy death for ever; might dispossess the devil of his kingdom; that there might be food and sustenance for our hunger; that he might make principalities and powers subject to his triumphant dominion; that he might take possession of all power in heaven and in earth. We consider Christ to be indeed the meritorious cause of our justification, and that he

* The difference between confidence hoping, and faith justifying. Confidence or hope looks properly at the promise, faith looks at the person of the Redeemer.—*Marginal note.*

is not so much the meritorious, as the efficient cause of our renovation, seeing it is he that baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire. Suppose we grant that this charity flows in upon us by the merit of Christ, yet I do not therefore call this same infusion of grace a cause of meriting justification, nor any part of a cause thereof; but it seems rather fit to be reckoned amongst the effects and fruits of justification, which follow from thence; neither doth it follow, because the works of grace and charity come to us by the merit of Christ, that therefore the same do merit justification before God. For it relies upon no condition of works at all, but only the promise, and that a free one also; and so free, that it implies no condition except one only. And because in this place we inquire what is that only and peculiar condition, the doctrine of the gospel will easily teach us, if we are more willing to hearken to the gospel than to the opinions of Trent.

The condition, whereby we are properly justified, is this: That we should believe in Christ, and adhere to him by a constant confession. In which faith, in the mean while, a diligent caution should be observed, that this faith should be directed unto a proper and legitimate object. For the sense of our question is not, what is truly believed by us, but what faith that is which justifies the wicked before God from his sins; and that we should search by the gospel, what is the proper object of this faith. In the mean while that is a very ridiculous thing, and too barbarous, that the pope in his decretals reduces the object of faith to the keys and succession of the Roman chair, and that as necessary to salvation: but away with this deceiver and his cheats.

Now let us discourse of others, who reasoning with more sound judgment about faith, coming much nearer to evangelical truth, do thus define faith unto us, that they place its object in the mercy of God only. For thus is faith defined by most of our divines at this day, namely—That it is a firm and constant reliance on the mercy of God, promised freely for the sake of Christ. Which definition, if it be true, by this means it appears that the object of faith is placed no otherways, nor in any other thing, but in the free mercy of God laid hold upon; which is not denied to be true in this sense, as faith in this place is taken for a reliance, as it is often used in this signification, because it hath a respect to mercy, and brings forth assurance in the

mind of believers. But whether this reliance properly justifies us before God, may here be inquired with profit.

Reason leads to think that this reliance on mercy, and assurance of salvation promised, must be a thing very nearly joined with faith, and which every man ought to apply to himself; but then when it is most applied, it is not that which properly and absolutely unloads us of our sins, and justifies us before God; but there is some other thing proposed in the gospel, which by nature should in some respect go before this assurance, and justify us in the sight of God. For faith in the person of the Son, which reconciles us to God, doth necessarily go before. And then reliance on most assured mercy follows this faith, concerning which none of those that believe in Christ can doubt.

[Again, passing by some of Fox's arguments against the fallacies of the Romanists, we proceed to the following.]

You will say, Is not the free promise of God a most true cause on which our whole justification depends? If you say on God's part, it is true; if you ask on our part, you must go further, and something seems to be necessarily joined with the promise. Now that we may set the thing more evidently before your eyes; God promises salvation to his own, and that freely, and for Christ's sake. That indeed is most certain, and beyond all controversy. Go on—And you put trust in the promise of God. You do very well in doing so, and I commend the constancy of your confidence. When salvation is promised freely for Christ's sake, shall therefore an absolute promise save all men promiscuously for Christ's sake, without any restriction of condition? I suppose God will not save all promiscuously. Now then, this promise belonging not to all, but to some certain persons only, upon some certain condition, I would know, who those are, to whom this promise properly belongs. You say, "Believers," and in that you say well; but how? or believing in whom? Are they not those that believe in Christ himself? Is it not he only, for whose sake only salvation is promised to believers? Doth not this faith only in the PERSON of the Son of God, make us partakers of the promise? Doth not this faith only justify before God? Moreover, is not this the only condition, which every where, the voice of Christ, and the apostles in the gospel, and the voice of the prophets inculcate; which the appointment of the Father especially requires, that we should hear his beloved Son, that we should receive Christ, that we should

believe in his name, that we should fly to him by faith, and betake ourselves wholly to him ; that we should believe in him whom he hath sent, whom the Father hath sealed, that we should digest him inwardly in our minds, that we should be ingrafted into him, and should grow in him, that we should know Jesus, and him crucified only, that we should behold him only, as the Israelites of old beheld the serpent in the wilderness, that we should put on Christ.

Hence come these so frequently repeated sermons in the gospel concerning the person of Christ : He that believeth in me hath life eternal : As many as received Him : They that believe in his name : He that believes in the Son of God : That every one that seeth the Son, and believes in him : He that believeth in me shall never die : Do ye believe in God ? Believe also in me : We believe and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God : He that believes in Him, who justifies the ungodly : Justifying him, that is of the faith of Jesus Christ : If thou confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, &c. That we may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and believing may have eternal life : If thou believe with all thy heart, &c. Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy house : The righteousness which is of the faith of Christ : We have access through the faith of Him : The promise of the faith of Jesus Christ : By faith which is in me : By his name all that believe in Him : If ye do not believe that I am he : Except ye eat my flesh : Except ye abide in me : If ye abide in me : Ye are all the sons of God by faith in Jesus Christ.*

By which so many and so evident places of scripture, there is no man that cannot be most sure, what is properly the object of that faith which justifies us ; namely, no other thing, but THE PERSON OF THE SON OF GOD. As again the object of confidence is the promise of God. Which things being so, it will not be difficult to gather from these notions of scripture, what is the true and genuine definition of justifying faith, concerning which we are making inquiry ; which seems, that it ought to be defined according to the right rule of the gospel after this manner :—That it is a right knowledge of the Son of God planted in our minds, whereby we acknowledge a promised Christ, and receive him,

* John vi. i. iii. vi. xi. xiv. vi. Rom. iv. iii. John xx. Acts viii. xvi. Phil. iii. Eph. iii. Gal. iii. Acts xxvi. x. John viii. vi. xv. Gal. iii.

being held forth, and with our mouth profess him to have died for us, and to have risen again; that we worship him in spirit, and embrace him with all our mind, together with all his benefits.

And this faith, as it is a singular gift of God, so of all the gifts of God, we believe this faith is that only which justifies believers in the sight of God. To which, though assurance and confidence of the grace of God is most nearly joined, which is itself also sometimes called by the name of faith, yet this confidence doth not properly infer the cause of justification, but receives it being brought; neither doth it cause justification; but is rather caused by it, and renders those assured, who are justified by the faith of Christ, but doth not itself justify. For God doth not therefore forgive thee, and receive thee for a son, because thou embracest the mercy of God with a holy confidence; but because thou embracest his Christ with a right faith, and confessest and lovest him, he loveth thee. Neither do we believe in Christ, because we are assured of salvation, and trust the promises; but because we believe in Christ, therefore we attain unto a certain hope of those things that are promised in Christ; for eternal life is promised to him that believes in the Son. And from hence arises that clear distinction between faith and assurance; for they differ in subjects and objects. The faith of Christ, which brings forth righteousness, takes its place in the higher part of the soul, wherein the understanding is. Assurance hath relation to those powers of the soul, in which hope, and the like affections are placed. As touching the objects, assurance hath respect to the mercy, or the promise in Christ; faith is directed to Christ himself, because he obtains mercy for believers.

Though we confess this to be most sure, that nothing is more sure than our justification by Christ; yet if the cause be inquired for, which properly justifies us from our sins, we answer, It is faith, not whereby we believe that we are justified, but whereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, who only is a propitiation for our sin.

Now you have our opinion of JUSTIFYING FAITH, and the true nature thereof explained unto you; what its power is, and what its object. Moreover you understand how this faith is distinguished from hope and assurance. And wherein the true and next cause of justification is taken up—whereof if ye inquire for the internal cause, it is faith only,

whereby we believe in Christ. If you inquire for the external matter thereof, it is Christ only, whom we embrace by faith.

[After unravelling and exposing many of the popish errors on this subject, Fox proceeds]—

You have here briefly set before you, a summary of catholic divinity, concerning the perfection of righteousness, which, though there is no man but sees how absurd and unreasonable it is, yet that it may appear the more evidently, it will not be amiss to reduce all the debates of the adversaries into a short logical form of argument.

*The Tridentine Argument.**

Major. Whosoever perform all the commands of God, they are truly righteous, not by imputation, but by true virtue, and merit eternal life.

Minor. The regenerate, by renewing grace, obtained through faith and the merits of Christ, perform all the commands of God.

Conclusion. Therefore the regenerate are not only accounted, but also are really made righteous by grace, and merit eternal life.

In this one syllogism, if it be attentively considered, as in a little map, all the pollution and deceit of the popish doctrine is comprehended; and it is no hard thing to answer it.

And first, I would not unwillingly grant them that which they assume in the major—for the laws appointed by God, comprehend all righteousness within the limits of their circumference. If there were any man, whose life was exactly squared according to the strict determinations of this law, and defective in no circumstance, I should esteem him to be worthy, not only of the title of righteousness, but also of the rewards that are due to a righteous man.

Let us proceed to the other parts of the argument. The minor follows next, The regenerate in Christ, whom faith hath once justified, having now received divine grace, they attain unto such a degree of charity, that they are wanting in nothing that is requisite to the most perfect obedience of the law. But I would fain know where those regenerate men are, and who they are? for it is abundantly evident, that they who are the maintainers of this doctrine, are no such men themselves. Their lives are so well known,

* For an account of the Council of Trent, see Jewel, p. 415.

that there is no need of other arguments to prove it. If they are compared with their profession, what is more disagreeing? What more differing from righteousness? Where hath peace and grace less flourished, and iniquity more abounded in manners?

But as touching charity, and an habitual gift of grace, we detract nothing from it, as we have said before. But this grace hath its own degrees and measures, and bounds wherein it is contained. For charity is not given to justify any man by working, neither is so great a power of divine grace communicated to any man in this life, as to fulfil all christian righteousness in every jot and tittle. Though it be certain, that the bounty of God beautifies the church with many and great ornaments, yet he doth not cause her to arrive at so great perfection in this world, but that she always hath need of the mercy of God, and the remission of sins. Indeed he preserves his saints, and enriches and ennobles them, that they never perish, but not so that they never sin. This fulness of grace the Father bestowed on his own Son by a singular prerogative of his will, that all might receive of his fulness, for God gives not the Spirit to him in measure; but he hath not dealt so with others; he hath given to every man according unto the measure of the rule whereby he distributes to us, lest we should glory without measure, or stretch ourselves too far above that grace which is given to every man according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Therefore, let no man arrogate unto himself that which belongs not to him; but that which belongs to us is this, we know in part, as the apostle speaks, and we prophesy in part, and now we see through a glass darkly. But when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part, shall be done away.* Therefore, perfection not being attainable, let us be content with that whereof we are capable, and leave that fulness of perfection which is void of all sin, to Him to whom only it is due.

[Fox then argues very closely with the Romanists as to the inconsistency of their lives, compared with the requirements of the gospel.]

But wherefore do I so much enlarge upon this matter? The reason is, to make it evidently appear, that when the Tridentines have said all they can, yet the whole concern of our salvation and justification consists not in our merits,

* 2 Cor. x. Ephes. iv. 1 Cor. xiii.

and mercenary works, or integrity of manners, and holiness of life, but in the gracious favour of God. Whereby he not only renews the inner man, but delivers the whole man, both outwardly and inwardly, from the bondage of death, wherein he was wretchedly ensnared; frees him from the curse, redeems him from the slavery of Satan, and a state of damnation, forgiving all his sins, and daily offences, whereby he most justly deserved eternal destruction.

Though conversion may seem lost for a season by the falls of the saints, yet notwithstanding, the regenerate are not cast out of the favour of God, inasmuch as they are not finally forsaken. Otherways, if any sin of infirmity should utterly make void all the grace of God, how was the grace of Christ sufficient for Paul, when he was buffeted by a messenger of Satan? or how is his strength said to be made perfect in weakness? Moreover, how else is that saying of the apostle true, Where sin abounded, grace hath superabounded, if divine grace hath no union with any, but them that are arrived at perfection?

Pious reader, what testimonies of greater authority dost thou look for? That which the Tridentines affirm, the apostle denies! If they say true, the canonical truth is a falsehood. But if it be blasphemy to entertain such a thought, must not they of Trent be liars? What need is there to prove it? I will express it in a word. The testimony of scripture, the consent of nature, the experience of all ages, the judgment of the learned, the sayings of the ancient fathers, the examples of all the saints, the general opinion of all good men, the guilty conscience of evil doers, the constant prayers of the church, her complaints and tears, the rebellion of the flesh, the wicked imaginations arising in the heart, the deceit of errors, the groans of troubled spirits, the disturbances incident to a mortal life, and death itself, common to all men—moreover, the constant confessions of the papists, and their often repeated absolutions; what is the meaning of these so many and weighty arguments? What is it that they declare, but that the righteousness attainable in this life, is either none at all, or such as Augustine describes; that consists more in the remission of sins, than in the perfection of virtues? And, lest any should flatter himself with hopes of perfection in this life, let us hear what the same Augustine, commenting upon John, infers, "Let not sin reign in your mortal body. He says not, Let it not be, but, Let it not reign.

For, as long as you live, of necessity sin must be in your members. Yet let the dominion be taken from it; let not that be done which it commands." And again, writing to Macedonius, "Who of us is without sin?" And again, repeating the same, "Who in this life is without some sin? But we call him good, whose goodness prevails; and we call him best, who sins least. Therefore, those whom the Lord himself calls good, by reason of the participation of divine grace, he calls the same also evil, because of their infirmities, until our whole man be thoroughly purged from all corruption, by passing into that life, in which we shall sin no more." Thus said Augustine. Where then is that real infusion of virtues, as they call it? where are these new qualities, and that inherent righteousness, that hath no need of remission of sins? for what need is there of remission there, where there is nothing to be forgiven? For what sin can remain there, where the perfect purification, as they speak, of body and soul, from all pollution of sin, makes us holy, and partakers of the divine nature?

Briefly, to comprehend the matter in a few words, lest this discourse should grow into too great a bulk, by what has been discoursed at large, these things following will appear sufficiently cleared. First, what is the nature of true faith, which causeth righteousness; what is its proper object; from whence it receives power to justify,—which we have proved by the scriptures to proceed wholly from its object, that is, the Person of Him only, in whom we believe. Now because faith only embraces the person of Christ, therefore faith only, upon the account of its object, and not for the sake of our virtues, justifies the sinners and ungodly.

[Fox then proceeds to show "What sinners are justified by Christ." He says,]

Though all men are sinners by nature, and in many things we offend all; yet all are not sinners alike. They that have no sense of their sins, no trouble in their conscience, nor shame for the abominations they have committed, but run on headlong and without fear, into all wickedness; though they profess Christ, and faith in him with their mouth, yet their heart is void of him; neither doth this empty profession yield them any benefit. Of which sort of men Christ preaches in the gospel, Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, but he that doth the will of my Father, &c. After the same manner the whole epistle of James treats of these, and such like men,

whom he denies to be justified by this counterfeit and hypocritical faith. But on the contrary, those that sincerely repent and mourn for their sins, and, abhorring their own wickedness, return to Christ with all their hearts, and receive him by faith, these only are the sinners whom faith alone justifies without works, according to that well-known saying of Paul. And by this means it will not be difficult to reconcile both the apostles, Paul and James, to one another. For as James, a servant of Jesus Christ, cannot deny but faith, when it is found in a penitent and humbled sinner, justifies him freely without works, and before all good works; so on the other side, neither doth Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, approve of that faith which works not by love, nor does he admit abominable wretches of profligate lives, to have any fellowship with Christ.

[Fox next gives "An answer to those that say the preaching of faith is pernicious, pretending that it opens a door to irreligion and licentiousness." He urges that the truth or falsehood of things depends not on the use or abuse of them, and says,]

In order to answer this objection, though it hath been sufficiently answered already, two things must be considered, one belongs to the manner of preaching, and the other to the truth of the doctrine. And first as touching preaching, their objection is very false. For though we teach that faith only justifies, yet we neglect not to use strong motives to the practice of good works, and sharp admonitions, and not only admonitions, but also severe threatenings, yea, and moreover excommunications, if need be, to restrain wicked practices.

The frequent sermons that are preached in our churches bear witness to this, in which, according to our power, we exhort unto works of piety, and, by the authority of scripture, thunder the judgments of God against harlots, adulterers, covetous persons, highwaymen, sorcerers, that they may know there will be no place for such in the kingdom of God and Christ, except they amend their lives. Who was more zealous than Paul, in exalting the righteousness of faith? And who was more holy in life than he, or more fervent against the sins of those that walked not after the spirit, but after the flesh? The books of our divines do evidence the same, in which they discourse no less of repentance, and good works, than of faith, joining always the one with the other. Therefore, as touching the manner of

teaching, you will find that it is not faith only, which is treated of in the churches and books of men of our persuasion. But if the matter of debate between us be about the cause of salvation and justification, there is nothing more agreeable to sound doctrine, than that an ungodly sinner is justified before God, by faith only without works.

But you may object; "This doctrine hardens the people in their sinful courses." If you understand it of all, it is false: if of evil doers, that run on in sin against their conscience, and take no care to restrain their lusts, as for such, who ever said or taught, that they are justified by faith only? And yet nevertheless, the truth of this assertion remains invincible, whereby we affirm that a wicked man is justified by faith only, without works, if the scope and meaning thereof be well understood. Which will be easy if we understand aright who they are whom faith only justifies without works, according to the saying of Paul; for herein chiefly lies the difficulty of this controversy. Neither is there any thing wherein the adversaries are more grossly mistaken; and herein they follow the footsteps of those, concerning whom Cyprian justly complains, saying, "They look at that which is said in the first place, but regard not what follows after." They catch at that which we assert of faith only, exclusively, and think there is injury done to good works, if faith only is sufficient to salvation; but they take no notice what manner of persons they are, to whom this justification by faith belongs. Christ affirms, Paul confirms, yea, the common practice of life, natural reason, and experience, and the consciences of all good men proclaim, that ruin comes only from our works, and salvation only from Christ. And because we receive this only Mediator Christ, by faith only, hence it is that we assert it is faith which justifies believing sinners before God. But let us see what manner of sinners they are, whom faith justifies. Is it the rebellious and impenitent? No verily. Then it must be such sinners as are converted, and humbled, and have the fear of God before their eyes. But there is no fear, that such will continue to wallow in their former filthiness, on the contrary, they are hereby so much the more stirred up to amend their lives. All ages have abounded with examples of those, to whom the doctrine of free justification by faith in Christ, as it conduced much to their necessary consolation, so it was no hinderance to their leading a holy life. If charity, according as the adversaries

themselves do testify, is the perfection of the law, which is the rule of life, let such men declare, whether he to whom more, or he to whom fewer sins are forgiven, hath the strongest obligation to love either God or his neighbour? Which of these two, mentioned in the gospel, loved Christ with the greater ardency of affection, Simon the pharisee, or Mary, that brought with her no good works at all, but a great multitude of sins? And why was her love to the Lord more vehement, but because she had more sins forgiven her? But let us proceed; Wherefore were so many and so great offences forgiven her, but for her faith, which guided her love? for she did not therefore believe in Christ, because she loved him, but because she knew him to be the Son of God; her faith being thereby incited to act the more vigorously, she loved much. For, love proceeds from faith, and not faith from love. Because we believe, therefore we love; but we do not believe, because we love. Whence the Lord, regarding more her faith than her love, said to her, Thy faith, not thy love, hath saved thee.

How love and repentance are concerned in justification.

But you may say, "Is faith alone here? Is it not joined together with love and repentance?" I grant indeed, that they are all three together in the person of the believer. But in the case of justification, faith only is regarded. And the others do follow as fruits and effects thereof. For as that woman, unless she had believed in the Mediator, made known unto her by faith, had never loved him; so she had never come unto him, as her physician, unless the disease of her troubled conscience had driven her. Wherefore, if we reason aright about causes, these things follow faith as effects and fruits thereof; but they are no causes of obtaining salvation.

We have spoken of Mary Magdalen; let us now behold the pharisee, and compare the one with the other. If the woman that was a sinner, by her love merited, as they speak, justification, what shall we say of the pharisee? Did not he also love the Lord? Would he have gone to him so courteously, or invited him so lovingly, or received him into his house so kindly, or entertained him at dinner so honourably, unless he had been moved with some affection of love? What shall we say of his faith? Did he not believe, being instructed by the holy scriptures, in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? Did he

not receive Christ as a prophet? Now he, believing in the Father, and receiving the Son with affectionate love, what could be wanting to him, that was necessary to justification, if so be that all our justification is perfected by charity? And yet, I suppose, no man will say, that this pharisee was justified by Christ, that is, set free from all condemnation by this love of his. Why not? Because faith in Christ as a Saviour was wanting. But suppose he had faith, and he, trusting to his own righteousness, but being puffed up with pride upon that account, had begged no help, and imagined he needed no pardon, would this faith have availed him to justification? Assuredly not.

But you may say, "That is true indeed, and therefore this proves, that faith only doth not justify." I answer, and request the adversaries, that, laying aside the desire of vain jangling, they would examine the matter according to scripture and right reason.

Though the manifest testimony of the apostle Paul, and the examples of the saints make it an undoubted truth, that only faith in Christ the Son of God hath the power of justifying without works, yet it cannot open this power upon all, but only those in whom a fitness is found for receiving the displayings of divine grace.

But none are found more fit, than those that seem to themselves most unworthy, and none less fit, than those that are most highly conceited of their own worthiness. Seeing we are all sinners by nature, nothing can be more reasonable, than that we should acknowledge the filthiness of our own abominations, and cast ourselves at the feet of almighty God. And there is nothing that God more requires, than this: whose nature, or rather mercy is such, that he delights not in any thing more than in a humble heart and a broken spirit, as the psalmist declares, He saveth such as are of a contrite spirit. And, in the prophet Isaiah, God testifies of himself, that he is the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, and dwells in the high and holy place, and also with him that is humble and of a contrite spirit, to comfort the humble spirit, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. And for that cause he calls aloud in the gospel, and offers his kind invitations, chiefly to such as labour, and are heavy laden, that they may come unto him, and be eased.

What is coming to Christ, but believing? What is it to be eased or refreshed, but to be justified? Though indeed he calls all, and despises none that come to him, yet so it

comes to pass for the most part, that none come to Christ as they ought, unless they are pressed and burdened under the sense of their sin and misery. And again, that heavenly Physician is seldom sent unto any others, but such. As the prophet bears witness, who making a particular description of those to whom Christ was to be sent, he sets before us the meek, the broken in heart, the captives, the prisoners, the mourners in Sion, them that are walking in darkness, and sitting in the shadow of death, &c. And the psalmist speaks much to the same purpose, Ps. cvii. describing the mercy of God on this manner. He filleth the hungry soul with goodness, and such as sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron. Though he, being sent by the Father, is given to all, yet he is not entertained by all with the like affection.

The Lord himself shows the cause thereof: For what need have the whole of the physician? Therefore, as a skilful physician doth not administer his medicines but when sickness requires it; so faith cleanses none, but those whom repentance also amends; neither doth the gospel heal any but those whom first the law hath slain, and conscience hath wounded. And as that is most true, which we preach by the authority of Paul the apostle, that men are justified by faith only without works, so on the other side it is false, which the adversaries assert, that by this doctrine of faith it comes to pass, that all care of good works is cast off, and the reins are let loose to all manner of wickedness. Howbeit, if they speak of such impenitent persons as go on resolutely in their sins, we acknowledge, that such as they are not justified by faith, and yet we assert that this is no way prejudicial to the cause that we plead. But if they speak of such as join repentance with evangelical faith, and therefore stand in need of consolation, if they deny that those are justified by the faith of Christ only; they discover themselves to be utter enemies of the gospel, and adversaries to Christ. And again, if they assert that such penitent believers become worse by this doctrine, they do therein err exceedingly, and lie abominably.

Wherefore, that the mouth of malice and slander may be stopped, let these professors of divinity, who condemn this doctrine of Paul as heretical, take our proposition, not by halves, but whole, that when faith is said to justify, they should understand aright, whom this faith justifies. Namely, none of those that continue stubborn and impenitent in

their wicked courses, but only such as acknowledge their sins with grief of heart, and being weary of their former abominations fly to Christ by faith for refuge.

But here they take another occasion to cavil: for if faith justifies none but them that repent, "Then," as they say, "faith only doth not justify; but together with faith, a godly sorrow, and mourning for sin justify also."

It is true indeed, that faith is joined with repentance, in him that is justified from his sins. And yet repentance is no cause of justification. As those that are afflicted with a painful disease, their pain makes them desirous of a cure, but yet there is no healing virtue in this desire. So faith and conversion are united in the person that is justified.

But as touching the cause of justifying. Repentance indeed prepares a soul for the reception of justification, but the cause of justifying lies altogether in faith, and not at all in repentance. For the just Judge doth not absolve him, who hath violated his justice, because he is grieved upon that account, but because he believes in Christ, who hath satisfied justice, and for whose sake pardon is promised to such as repent; for in him are all the springs of our justification.

EXTRACTS FROM THE THIRD BOOK,

WHICH IS A CONFUTATION OF THE ARGUMENTS, WHEREBY THE ADVERSARIES DEFEND THEIR INHERENT RIGHTEOUSNESS, AGAINST THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF FAITH.

An argument taken out of St. James by the adversaries.

"No dead thing justifies.
All faith without works is dead.
Therefore, No faith justifies without works.

Answer. First this manner of arguing is captious, and transgresses the right laws of logic. For the terms therein exceed the due number: for there is a redundancy in the conclusion, by this addition, "without works." For this should have been the conclusion: "Therefore no faith that is without works justifies." And that may be well granted without any disadvantage to our cause. For, suppose we grant, that faith is dead, which is not moved

with a desire of doing good works, according to the saying of St. James, yet it doth not therefore follow from hence, that no faith justifies without works. From which two things do follow, worthy of consideration.

First, That no faith justifies, that is not lively. And next, Though it abounds in good works, and never is without them, yet it only without works justifies.

This will appear evident by the example of St. Paul; who though he was not conscious of any wickedness, yet he durst not affirm himself to be thereby justified.

The whole argument may be yielded to, if the terms are rightly placed. The adversaries gather out of the apostle James, that faith is dead, which is without works, and herein we do not much oppose them. But what follows from hence? Therefore, as they say, dead faith without works doth not justify. And I deny it not. But what conclusion flows from this manner of arguing? Do they mean, therefore, faith only doth not justify? Why so? "If no faith, but that which is lively, justifies, and if it receives life only from works, then this is the consequence, that faith justifies only upon the account of good works."

Answer. First, though we grant it is true, that the faith which justifies us in the sight of God is lively, and always joined with a godly life, yet, that this faith justifies and reconciles us no other ways, but upon the account of good works, is most false. For this is not a good consequence from the premises: "Because faith is not alone in the life of the believer, therefore faith is not alone in the office of justifying." Or, "Because the faith that justifies is not a dead, but a lively faith, therefore it doth not justify alone without works." For herein is a fallacy of the consequence. But you may object, "Whence then is faith said to be lively and not dead, but from works? Which if it be so, of necessity it must draw all its life and virtue from works."

Nay; the matter is quite contrary. For though in the sight of men, faith is not discerned to be lively and vigorous, but by works, yet faith receives not life from works, but rather works from faith.* As fruits draw their life and sap from the root of the tree, but not the root from them, just so external actions proceed from faith as the root; if they are good, they evidence the root to be sound and lively, and this is all they do, but they communicate no

* The life of faith is not begotten of charity, but only is evidenced thereby. *Marginal note.*

life thereunto. This life and virtue of faith is not one but twofold. And it acteth partly in heaven, and partly in earth. If you ask what it doth amongst men upon earth? It does good to its neighbour, working by love. But before God in heaven it justifies the ungodly, not by love, but by the Son of God, whom alone it lays hold of. Therefore, those men seem not to have got a clear insight into the virtue and nature of the grace of faith, that suppose the whole life thereof to consist in love; as if faith of itself could do nothing, but as it receives virtue and efficacy from charity.

Indeed both may seem to be true in the external actions of human life, in which faith lies like a dead thing, unless it be enlivened by charity to the exercise of good works. And hereunto belongs that saying of Paul, whereby he so much commends faith working by love; understanding such works as faith, working by love, brings forth to the view of a human eye. Yet with God faith hath a far different operation; for it only, without any reliance upon works, or assistance of charity, but trusting to the naked promise of God, and the dignity of the Mediator, climbs up to heaven, and gets access into the presence of God; where it does great and wonderful things, combating with the judgment to come, fighting against the terrors of death, Satan, and hell; pleads the cause of a sinner, obtains his pardon, absolves and justifies him from the accusations of a guilty conscience, takes away all iniquity, reconciles God to the sinner, appeases his wrath, subdues the power of death and the devil. and procures peace, yea, and paradise itself, with the thief that had led a wicked life; and yet at death was justified by faith in the Redeemer. Who would desire more or greater things?

And now, so many and great things being done by faith, let us inquire, after what manner it does them? Not as it lives and works by love, but as it lives only by Christ, and relies on the promise. For the life of faith, which lives before God, is not charity, but Christ; not receiving life from charity, but communicating life unto it, and justifying works, that they may be acceptable to God, which would otherways be abominable. Unto the truth of this we have a sufficient testimony given us by Paul, when he says, My life is Christ, Gal. ii. and again, The life that I now live in the flesh, I live, not by the love, but by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself

for me. And elsewhere, speaking of himself, he says, That he was not conscious to himself of any wickedness, and yet he denies that he is thereby justified; as the same apostle discoursing about the works of Abraham, though they were so eminent for holiness, yet he saw nothing in them which that great patriarch might make a matter of glorying before God, Rom. iv.

Works of mercy, as they are considered in themselves, are not the cause of justification, or blessedness, but rather effects and fruits of justification: for they are no otherways pleasing to God, but as they are performed by persons in a justified state, and it is by the faith of Christ that they become acceptable. For unless faith go before, and justify the person of him that worketh, his works are not at all regarded by God; because they do not satisfy the law of God, being tainted with the corruption of depraved nature, and come far short of that perfection, which Divine justice requires.

But you may say, "What must then be answered to the words of Christ, who seems to promise the blessedness of the kingdom as a reward of works? Matt. xxv. Are not works that are performed in charity, for the relief of the poor, pleasing and acceptable to God?" We deny not that ourselves; but we inquire into the cause wherefore they become acceptable. Which, that it may appear the more evidently, let us examine these words of scripture; I was an hungered, said Christ, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink, &c. I ask, in the first place, who is it here that was an hungered? You will say, "Christ, either himself in his own body, or in a member of his body." Did you then feed Christ when he was an hungered? That was piously done, indeed! Therefore I see and commend what you have done. But I ask, What was it that stirred you up to do it? Was it charity, setting faith to work, or was it not rather faith setting charity to work? But what if some other, that was no member of Christ, whether heathen or Turk, had need of your meat? Would you, in this your charity, have fed him? I doubt of that. But suppose you yourself had not believed in Christ, but had been an enemy to him, if you had seen one that belonged to Christ almost ready to perish for hunger, would you have relieved him? I do not believe so. Why? Because it is only believers that feed Christ, but infidels persecute him. The Lord was thirsty on the cross, and he

had vinegar given him for drink; which was hellish wickedness. But why did they give him vinegar? Was it want of love, or was it not rather want of faith in those unbelieving pharisees? Who if they had not wanted faith, they would not have wanted charity, to administer help, and charity would not have been unrewarded. But suppose one not a believer, whether Turk or heathen, should refresh a hungry christian, by giving him of his meat, as old Simon the pharisee entertained Christ. And many of the heathens have been eminent in offices of kindness and love. Can the giving of meat and drink by any such, without faith, merit eternal life? Surely not. But if a believer gives his christian brother even a cup of cold water in his necessity, shall he lack his reward? Christ himself says he shall not.

Hereby you may see whence it is that our virtues and good deeds are acceptable to God, and dignified with rewards. Not for themselves, but for the faith of him that works them, which first justifies the person before all works. And after the person is justified, his performances are accepted; and though they are of small value in themselves, yet they are looked upon as great, and are rewarded plentifully. Wherefore, we deny not that sometimes in the scriptures the name of reward is joined with eternal life; and that the works of brotherly charity may in some sense be called meritorious, if these works are performed by persons who are already justified, and received into favour by remission of sins, and have obtained a right unto the promise of eternal life. Not that their works are of such value, that they should make satisfaction to the law of God, or merit any thing with God (ex congruo, or condigno, as they phrase it,) either by congruity or worthiness. But they are imputed as merit by grace. Not that eternal life is due to the works themselves; but because there are consolations laid up in heaven for saints and persons in a justified state, to support them in their afflictions: eternal life not being due to them for their works, but by right of the promise; just as a son and heir, to whom his father's inheritance is due, doth not merit the right of sonship by any duties that he performs; but he being born a son, his duties upon that account are meritorious, so that he wants not a due reward and recompense. Therefore, in this popish argument there is a fallacy.

Another argument taken from the words of Christ, Matt. vii. *by the adversaries.*

"He that doth the will of the Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"It is the will of the Father, that we should do good works, that are commanded in his law.

"Therefore, an entrance into heaven is obtained by the works of the law."

Answer. Suppose we grant all contained in this argument, what will these Roman justiciaries infer from thence? "Therefore," as Vega speaks, "faith is not sufficient to salvation, without the keeping of the commandments." It is easy to answer in a word. Let him keep the commandments according to the exact rule of the divine will, and he shall be saved. But neither he, nor any other man can perfectly keep the commands of God in this life: from whence we infer this by necessary consequence—that either there is no hope of obtaining the kingdom, or else that it lies not in the works of the law.

Now, if it be so, what remains, but that finding this is not the way to heaven, we should seek for another way; and because there is no door of salvation opened to sinners in the law of commandments, therefore we must fly to another refuge. But what that refuge is, appearing to us from heaven itself, the divine will declares unto us, which is not set forth in the old law, but in the new testament of the gospel. And this is his will, that every one who believeth in the Son should not perish, but have eternal life, John vi. For whereas the law was weak because of the flesh, God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, that walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, Rom. viii.

Objection. But here some may object; "Will the faith of Christ justify us, in such a manner, that it may be lawful for us to disobey the will of the Father, and that we may do so with impunity?" God forbid. The liberty of the gospel allows not that; for it openly affirms, that they who are justified by the faith of Christ walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. To this purpose our Lord himself speaks, though not in the same words; Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of

heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father, which is in heaven. For what is it to do the will of the Father, but (as Paul expresses it) to walk, not after the flesh, but after the Spirit? In which place, a perfect obedience to the whole law is not required to justification; but the meaning of our Lord's words is this, that he requires a faith which is not counterfeit, nor hypocritical, but upright and sincere; which doth not only outwardly and with the mouth make mention of the name of the Lord, or the temple of the Lord, as the pharisees and hypocrites did of old, but heartily endeavours to walk in the fear of God. And though it cannot perform all things commanded in the law, yet it strives, as much as in it lies, to shun all things that are contrary to the will of God; that, at least, sin may not have the dominion, if it cannot be wholly excluded or rooted out. Thus should be understood these words of Christ, To do the will of his Father, which is in heaven. For God requires us to do his will, but does not exact a complete perfection of obedience in this mortal life. On the contrary, he that makes an outward show of faith, and an external profession of the name of Christ, whilst he takes no care to lead a life suitable to his profession, but runs on in sins against his conscience, it is certain, that such a faith, according to the saying of Christ, profits him nothing, though he boast in the name of the Lord as much as he will. Not that faith without works doth not justify before God, provided it be true, and not counterfeit; that is, if it is received into a heart truly humbled, as seed into good ground; but because that faith, which doth not provoke unto love and good works, though it may be boasted of at a high rate, yet in reality is no faith at all, but only a shadow, and false resemblance of faith. And the same answer may serve for all their arguments, which they have wrested out of the sermons of Christ in the gospel, to defend their doctrine of justification by works.

[Upon another argument from John v. 29. and Rom. ii. 6. Fox observes,]

We must appear all of us before the judgment seat of God, where account will be taken of all the actions and practice of our lives.

Therefore, let every one that hath regard to his own salvation, endeavour, according to his power, to lead a life suitable to his profession; and without hypocrisy, to join a good conscience with a good faith. For the word of truth

hath told us, They that have done evil shall come forth unto the resurrection of damnation, John v. Col. iii.

But are such scriptures contrary to justification by faith, in such as, together with the profession of faith in Christ, join the fruits of obedience; which though it is not perfect upon all accounts, yet is yielded in sincerity and uprightness of heart, according to their weak power and capacity? Which though it comes far short of the complete perfection of the law, yet nevertheless our justification is full and perfect in the sight of God. For what is defective in our works, he supplies by his own imputation, through faith in his Son, which faith is imputed to us for righteousness, not for our working, but for our believing. For though the abominable rebellion of wicked men, who walk not after the Spirit, but after the flesh, brings upon them the judgment of condemnation, yet this continues to be a truth, The just shall live by his faith. And he that believeth in me shall never perish, Rom. iv. Hab. ii. John xvii.

But you may say, " The sentence of the Judge remains evident and uncontrollable; which promises the resurrection of life, to them that lead a godly life."

Answer. That is very true which the Lord says, but the conclusion drawn from hence is very false. For in these words, Christ joining the fruit and the tree, persons and things together, gives the comfortable hope of eternal life unto his own servants, who according to their power labour diligently in the gospel. Not thereby determining what their works deserve, but showing with how many, and great rewards he will crown their labours, who have suffered any thing for his name.

Another argument of the adversaries.

Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, Matt. iv.

Therefore, not faith only, but also works of righteousness exalt us to the kingdom of heaven.

Answer. By these words the Lord gives us serious instruction, what manner of lives they ought to live that are justified. But he doth not thereby signify what is the proper cause of justification. If you inquire for the cause of justification, the Lord hath resolved that doubt; Thy faith hath saved thee, Luke vii. xviii. This is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and Jesus

Christ whom thou hast sent,John xvi. In like manner Paul expressed himself, If thou confess the Lord Jesus with thy mouth, and believe with thy heart, that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved, Rom. ix. But if you inquire what manner of lives they ought to live, that make sincere profession of the faith of Christ, we are taught in this place, and by many other sayings of scripture, that they ought to differ much from the lives of the scribes and pharisees; namely, that they who are created in Christ Jesus, should behave themselves without a pharisaical vizard of external holiness, or a proud conceitedness of their own righteousness; but that they should be adorned and beautified with sincerity and uprightness of mind, and persevere in the practice of good works, which God hath prepared, that we should walk in them. He said not, that we should be justified by them, but that being justified by his grace, we should walk in them, bringing forth fruits worthy of our vocation.

[On an argument of the adversaries from Luke iii. 9. Fox observes,]

By what has been said, any reader, not void of sense, may easily discern that we seek not to banish good works out of the world, that they should not be necessary; but we only remove them from being a cause of justifying, that so both faith and works may be put each of them in their own place, and contained within their own bounds. For Paul did not in vain, nor without great necessity, exhort with much vehemency to the godly practice of a christian life. For what is more glorious in itself, or more worthy of the profession of christianity, or fitter to adorn the doctrine of the gospel, than that those who are called by the name of Christ should resemble him exactly in their manners, and in the practice of their lives? And as they profess themselves to be citizens of the heavenly kingdom, they should, according to their power, endeavour to lead a life like heaven upon earth? On the contrary, what is more abominable or odious, than if those who have been engaged by so many benefits, exalted to so great dignity, and are joined to him in so near an union by so many covenants and obligations, if yet they do not follow his footsteps, nor imitate him in the practice of their lives?

Therefore, in this we and they agree, that works of piety are very necessary; but we must consider, wherein this necessity lies. For they are effects which of necessity de-

pend upon their cause, from whence they proceed, but the cause hath no dependence upon them by any necessity.

By the like consequence, we call many things necessary in common offices of civility and humanity; as when kindnesses are received, what is more necessary, and according to justice, than a thankful remembrance of the favour received, and a readiness of mind, to give evidence of thankfulness, not only in words, but also by repaying kindness with kindness, if there be opportunity? Which thankfulness was nevertheless no cause of the kindness that was done. Let us here compare other kinds of offices. Who knows not, that a son and heir ought of necessity to be dutiful to his father? But again, who can be ignorant, that this is no cause in him, why he should receive the inheritance? The same also may be observed in marriage, where the wife being tied to her own husband, of necessity owes subjection to him, which nevertheless she shows to him, not so much for any law of necessity that extorts it, as of her own accord and willingly, being moved by a principle of love; moreover, when she shows him the greatest subjection, this necessity is no cause of the marriage bond. Just so it is in the performance of godly works, which Paul commands us to maintain for necessary uses, Tit. ii. not that necessity of works is any cause of justification, but because it cannot otherways be, but that where true faith is, there of necessity good works are required, and yet they are not so much required, as they are a necessary consequence. For who was ever endued with the true knowledge of Christ the Son of God, or had the secret breathings of his Spirit, or had a lively sense of his unsearchable power, and the unspeakable glory of his majesty, but is drawn after him with the cords of love, and cleaves unto him with all his heart, setting light by all the vanities of this world? Moreover whoso hath a true savour of Christ, he despises the world, and all the things of the world, as the dirt under his feet? So that now there is no need of any law, to exact works of righteousness of him who is truly planted in Christ, because he is a law to himself, and does more of his own accord, than can be commanded by any compulsion.

An argument of the Jesuits.

"The word *only* is not found in the holy scripture, therefore faith *only* doth not justify."

Though it is not true, that this exclusive word is no where found in the holy scriptures, yet suppose we should grant it to be true, what would be the consequence? Verily those things that follow from a necessary consequence, though they are not expressed yet they are implied.

Seeing we meet with so many other things in sacred writings, that exclude all accessory works from having a share with faith in justifying a sinner, what hurt is it to sound doctrine, if the word "only" is not expressed; when you read such scriptures as these? Being justified freely by his grace, Rom. iii. By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified. The righteousness of God is manifested without the law, Rom. iii. A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ, Gal. ii. Not of works, Rom. xi. Without works, Rom. iv. Not of works, Tit. iii. Not of works, Eph. ii. Not according to works, 2 Tim. i. Without works, Rom. ix. What is the signification of such expressions, but that, all works being excluded, it should be understood that faith only is the procuring cause of justification; for what else is faith without works, and without the law, but faith only? Therefore, by the necessary law of consequences, we may argue thus:

We are justified by faith, and are not justified by any other thing inherent in us, according to the scriptures.—Therefore we are justified by faith only.

The scripture excludes all other things in man from faith: Therefore of necessity it is faith only that justifies.

But whereas they deny that this exclusive word is found in the scripture, let them read Mark v. and Luke viii. where the Lord says, Only believe, and thou shalt be saved.

A place out of Paul. 1 Cor. xiii.

Now these three remain, faith, hope, and charity; but the greatest of these is charity.

First, let us rightly conceive not only the words of the apostle, but in what sense he speaks them. These three remain, saith he, but the greatest of these is charity; in which words we hear the apostle preferring charity before faith; and we acknowledge it to be true, but let us see in what sense it is true.

Though in this world, in men's dealings with one another, mutual charity hath the preeminence: yet in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in our concernments with God, against Satan, death, sin, the judgment of God, his wrath

and vengeance, and the terrors of conscience, faith doth so far excel, that it only hath the dominion, not only above charity, but also without it.

If the dignity and excellency of any thing is discernible by its effects, and performances, as a tree is known by its fruits, let us now compare these virtues with one another, that it may the better appear what each of them can do, what is the efficacy of charity, what faith performs, and how much it excels.

And first, as touching charity and its offices, let us hear how greatly the apostle commends it. Charity, saith he, is patient, and bountiful, and courteous, fitted for every condition of life. Charity doth not envy, doth not behave itself unseemly, is not puffed up, seeks not its own things, but seeks the good of all; it is not easily offended, nor desirous of revenge; and though it suffer injury, it deviseth not to do evil to any man; it delights not in the wickedness of the wicked, but rejoiceth in the truth; it suffers all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things, waiting for better, with an indefatigable expectation. Though other things may fail; though prophecies, and miracles, and knowledge may cease, yet charity will never fail; mutual love will endure for ever.

Hitherto ye have heard the apostle set forth the duties and offices of CHARITY, with deserved praise, which though they are exceeding great and magnificent, and cannot be sufficiently commended by any man according to their worth; yet such is the nature of all these offices of charity, that they pass not beyond the bounds of this mortal life, and the mutual communion of christians with one another.

But now let us raise up our minds as high as we can, to contemplate the power and efficacy of FAITH, and what it doth, not only upon the earth, but in heaven in the presence of God. Whilst charity is exercised in this inferior world amongst men, faith ascends into the kingdom of God, where it lays hold on the Son of God the Mediator, at the right hand of Majesty, views his kingdom and the glorious riches thereof, and is filled with admiration of the universal power given to him over all heaven and earth. It searches for the promises of the Father, that are ratified in his Son the Mediator, and by search understands them, and in heaven beholds them to be sure and infallible; wherewith the mind of a believer, being now confirmed, takes pleasure in them, and triumphs with great joy. And

now faith, by relying on these promises, becomes fearless of danger, and invincible, and stands firmly against the fury of Satan, the power of death, the terrors of a guilty conscience, the gates of hell, the malice of the world, and the oppositions of the rebellious flesh. Hence flows a gladsome tranquillity of conscience, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and thence hope derives its fiducial reliance, and charity its fervent zeal from faith only.

For the mind, being supported and safe guarded by faith in Christ, what more can it wish for, to arrive unto the highest pitch of felicity? Who can express with words, or conceive in his mind, all the good things, that faith, by means of the Mediator, prepares in heaven for those that are yet grovelling upon the ground? This faith reconciles man, who was in a woful and wretched condition, unto God. It justifies a sinner at the brink of despair, opens the gates of paradise to the penitent malefactor: obtains the grace of the Holy Spirit for the centurion, gives Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, justifies the publican, procures pardon to the man sick of the palsy, heals the woman with the bloody issue, restores sight to blind Bartimeus, procures us the grace of adoption, the hope of the resurrection, and life everlasting, and overcomes death, which can by no other power be conquered, and gets victory over Satan, who cannot be subdued by any of our virtues, nor by our charity; but the shield of faith only drives him away, and puts him to flight.

Thus, pious reader, you have some description both of faith and charity; you may take your liberty to judge how you should account of both; and what should be attributed unto charity, which, though it may seem to claim the principality in things belonging to this life, yet in justification, and obtaining the pardon of sins, it is so far from having the superiority, that in this case it can do nothing at all. What need is there of words to prove this? for Paul the apostle explains himself abundantly, in what sense charity is greater; namely, because of its duration, which appears evident by the things that follow: for he draws this inference from what he had said; Charity never fails, though prophecies and miracles may be abolished.

What, where, and how, faith worketh by charity.

There are several things that need to be explained, as, what faith works, where, and after what manner it works.

For faith doth not act every where after one and the same manner. It acts one way with men, and another way with God. It is true, that it works by love, as Paul says, but it must be understood in respect of men, not in respect of God. Neither doth faith perform the same in both respects, nor after the same manner; for with men it works by love, but with God it works not by love, but by Christ only, by whom it is admirable to consider what, and how great things faith performs. It obtains grants of petitions, pardon of sins; it reconciles, justifies, wrestles, overcomes, reigns, and triumphs. Faith only does these things, not with men, but with God; not working by charity, but by Christ our Lord. Therefore faith works one thing by Christ, and another thing by charity. By Christ it obtains salvation, by charity it performs obedience to the law. Doth it perform perfect obedience? No. Doth it then perform imperfect obedience? But that is not sufficient to procure righteousness and salvation. And where then is that excellent integrity of life? Where is the meritorious efficacy of charity to purchase salvation? Where is the assertion of the Tridentine decree, which attributes the beginning of justification to faith, but makes the formal cause thereof charity or new obedience, which they call righteousness inherent in us, whereby we are not only accounted righteous, but are both called, and also really are, righteous before God; adding also a dreadful curse, if any dare be of other judgment.* Which doctrine, if admitted, utterly disannuls sacred scripture, and overturns all foundation of our religion. For if this be the condition of our salvation, that it must rely upon good deeds, and not free imputation only: where then is that righteousness which is attributed unto faith, so often preached by Paul? Where is the difference between the law and the gospel, which, unless it be carefully observed, we may be blind as to the knowledge of the scripture, like moles and bats at noon-day. Moreover, where is that opposition mentioned by Paul between the righteousness of the law and of faith? between grace and debt? Where

* Trid. Concil. cap. xi. If any say, that a man is justified by the imputation of Christ's righteousness only, or by the remission of sins only, excluding grace and charity, which is spread abroad in the hearts, and is inherent in them—or if any say that the grace whereby we are justified is only the favour of God, let him be accursed. If any say, that justifying faith is nothing else but a fiducial reliance on the mercy of God, forgiving sins for Christ's sake; or that this fiducial reliance is the only thing whereby we are justified, let him be accursed, Sess. 6, cap. 2. Rom. iv. xi. Rom. iii.

is glorying in works excluded? Where is faith accounted to Abraham for righteousness? And how will the Tridentine decrees agree with that which Paul says, Faith is accounted for righteousness, not to him that works, but to him that believes in Him who justifies the ungodly? And where are those remarkable exceptive and exclusive particles, whereby our salvation is wholly cut off from works, and ascribed unto imputation? Moreover, where are all those sweet promises, if those men rob us of the assurance of salvation and God's imputation?

Let us now proceed to the prophets, that if any are less moved with the authority and writings of the apostles, they may either answer the evident testimonies of the prophets, or yield unto them. And first, I ask of those who deny that Christ's having fulfilled all righteousness for us, is sufficient to assurance of justification, unless thereto be added a righteousness implanted and inherent, formed in us of his free bounty, which makes us formally righteous, satisfies the law, and merits life. Which if it be so, I ask of them, Whether any man can be assured that he is in a state of salvation in this life? If they deny it, where then is that peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, whereof there is such frequent mention in the writings of the prophets and apostles? Where is that frequent singing of praise in the books of the prophets? Where is that everlasting joy and gladness, which Isaiah the prophet foretells shall be upon the heads of those who being redeemed by the Lord, shall come into Sion with praise? Where is that way so straight, that fools cannot err therein? Where is that voice of the prophet preaching peace, and proclaiming glad tidings, and comforting his own people; which taking away all fear, grief, and sighing, confirms fearful and affrighted consciences, strengthens weak knees, and feeble hands, yea provokes the very beasts of the field, and the ostriches to the exercise of glorifying God?

If yet we waver in doubtful and uncertain fears, and have no firm hope of salvation, but in that righteousness, which is inherent in ourselves, according to the pseudo-catholic opinion of the church of Rome, where then is that fiducial reliance; where is that holy courage, concerning which Jeremiah the prophet foretold; In those days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely? And again to the same purpose, Ezekiel foretelling of the future peace of the church: And I will make with them a covenant of peace. And they that dwell in the wilderness, shall sleep

safely in the woods, and shall be in their own land without fear. And presently he subjoins, But they shall dwell safely without any fear. Hereunto belongs the encouragement that Isaiah gives the people of the Messiah, commanding them not to be afraid. Fear not, saith he, for I am with thee. And again, Fear not, for I have redeemed thee. And again, Fear not, my servant Jacob. Hereunto also agree the words of Zephaniah prophesying by the same Spirit: Be glad, O daughter of Sion, and be joyful, O Israel, and rejoice with all thy heart, O daughter of Jerusalem. The Lord hath taken away thy judgment, he hath turned away thy enemies. The king of Israel, the Lord, is in the midst of thee, thou shalt not be afraid of evil any more. How then doth this so great peace and tranquillity of conscience, so often repeated in the prophets, consist with that trembling fear and doubtfulness, which the papists plead for? For what encouragement is there for hope, when the mind is restless through fear, and all things lie at an uncertainty? For how can hope avoid being uncertain, if salvation must be hoped for by works, and not by free donation?

Howbeit, we are not ignorant, nor deny that sanctification and renovation, and the practice of good works, that flow from hence, are benefits bestowed upon us by Christ, which of necessity all good christians must endeavour to attain. But the debate here, is not about governing the life in this world, but of eternal salvation, and the cause thereof. Not whether offices belonging to christian piety should be performed; but whether, when they are performed, they are so much accounted of by God, that they merit salvation, and reconcile an offended God to mankind? Whether virtues and good works are able to stand before the judgment seat of God, without being condemned according to the rigid sentence of the law? Whether, under great terrors of conscience, when salvation hangs in doubt, we may safely rely upon them, that we may become the sons of God, and inherit eternal life? And yet it is not therefore false, that as long as this life endures, it is very requisite, that believers should be careful to lead holy lives, and utterly abhor all wickedness. But it must be considered, how it is requisite. In respect of the necessity of obedience, it is true; but if you say, that it is requisite in respect of our obtaining a right unto eternal life and salvation, nothing is more false, or pernicious, because it is not purchased by our merits; but is given to us, that deserve not, and are

unworthy, and it is given then, whilst we are yet sinners, that it may evidently appear, that all the glory of our salvation is due to the mercy of God, not to our works, which follow reconciliation to God, as fruits thereof, but do not procure it.

Therefore, I renew this admonition—that in this course of obedience, the godly practice of charity should not be separated from us, but of necessity accompany faith. But it must be so admitted, that it shut not out faith from its own office and dignity; nor jostle out the glorious riches of the grace of God, which is in Christ Jesus; nor darken the glory of the cross of Christ, nor take away consolation from troubled consciences; nor corrupt the sound doctrine which the apostles have taught us; which seeing it places all our salvation in nothing else but the benefit of redemption by Christ, let men of understanding and piety judge which of the two opinions is in the right—whether they that place all the hope of their salvation in faith only, or they that place it in the righteousness of inherent works only, and call faith, if alone, a presumption? Verily if the Spirit of Christ could not endure those Laodiceans, who were puffed up with a false imagination of their own righteousness, and understood not how wretched and miserable, and naked they were, Rev. iii. I suppose it may easily appear what should be judged of popish catholics, and all this divinity of theirs. I beg of Christ, the infinitely glorious, and only begotten Son of God, King of kings, Preserver of life, the merciful Author and Defender of our salvation, the Glory of heaven, the Brightness of his Father's glory, according to his infinite goodness, unto whose everlasting dominion all things are subject, that are in heaven and in earth; that we, miserable men, whom nature hath brought into this wretched condition, who are poor and needy, naked and blind, and utterly destroyed, being restored by his bounty, and having salvation bestowed upon us by his free gift, and being clothed with his ornaments, and enriched with his wealth, and carried on by the safe conduct of his Spirit—may grow in him daily more and more, and never fall from him, being strong in the faith, and fruitful in good works; until at length, at the coming of his kingdom, we are received into those blessed mansions of immortality, where he lives and reigns, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in eternal glory. Amen.

DE OLIVA EVANGELICA,

THE TRUE AND GLADSOME OLIVE TREE.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CHRISTENING OF A CERTAIN JEW, AT LONDON, BY JOHN FOX.

CONTAINING AN EXPOSITION OF THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER OF ST. PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

Translated out of Latin into English by James Bell.

Imprinted at London, A. D. 1578.

The Contents of this present Book.

Herein are discoursed and discussed the principal grounds and foundations of our christian faith, of the true and sincere church, of Christ our Messiah, of the infinite glory and majesty of his kingdom, with a refutation of the obstinate Jews, and lastly touching the final conversion of the same.

Also, to the latter end of this sermon is joined the confession of Nathaniel, this baptized Jew, written first by himself in the Spanish tongue, and now translated into English for the more benefit of the godly reader.

To the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, principal secretary to her Majesty, and one of her Highness's most honourable privy council, John Fox wisheth all felicity in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

PRESUMING not so much upon mine own head, as advised, or rather enforced by request, counsel, and persuasion, of one lately a most bounden servant to your honour, whose name for divers respects I conceal, I am therefore bold to adventure the offer of this small work to your honourable goodness; humbly beseeching the same, not only to accept it in good part, but also, if any such thing occur in this my simple travail which may pleasure or profit you, to yield all thanks to the Lord; if otherwise, to let the fault rest only upon me. Albeit, notwithstanding, other causes also were not wanting to admonish me of my dutiful office in this behalf. First, your manifold and grateful benefits upon me bestowed, which, as of your part, well may beseem your honourable benignity, so, of my part, very little have been deserved.

Furthermore, remembering with myself at what time this sermon was first preached, and you so earnestly required the said matter again to be repeated in your chamber, being sick: certainly this zealous desire of your so christian affection requireth no less of duty than the whole tractation hereof, whatsoever it be, being now published in print, and with some more diligence revised, to be wholly intituled to your name.

Over and besides, another cause here also falleth in, of my part not to be unremembered. For if your bountiful and courteous beneficence, never of me provoked, less deserved, so liberally hath refreshed my poor weak health, with the wholesome fruit of your French grape, little could I do, and unkind were I, if I would not remember you again with some part of recompense in requiting the wholesome fruit of your plentiful vineyard, with some branch of this gladsome and evangelical olive tree; not as in equality of sufficient recompense to satisfy your deserts, but as testifying to you a mind not ungrateful, nor unmindful, what he would do, if greater ability would serve.

To your good honour, both yours, and to the right worshipful lady, your wife, to the young little plants of your domestic olive, sitting about your table, and to your good household, I wish the grace of Christ long to keep you, his mercy to nourish you, his counsel to direct you, his peace to comfort you, his gifts to increase you, to the profit both of the church and commonwealth. London, Anno 1578.

Yours in Christ Jesus,

JOHN FOX.

The Preface to the Christian Reader, containing godly exhortation.

Forasmuch as the sum and absolute perfection of all our righteousness consisteth in the only faith and knowledge of Jesus Christ, without whom all human power and puissance is ineffectual, without whom no provident policy prevaileth, nor yet any force or activity of natural operation can bring any thing to pass; no honourable ornament of virtue, no excellency of exquisite learning, is available; according to the testimony of the Lord himself, Without me ye can do nothing—what ought we, poor mortal wretches, to regard more entirely, than that by due proceeding, in daily renewed increases of this same faith, we not only cleave fast to this Jesus Christ, the assured and undoubted Chieftain and Prince of life; and conveying him into the very inward of our souls, we, thoroughly possessing him, as fast enclosed in a certain holy oratory, also endeavour, by all means possibly, to be most nearly joined unto him, to be incorporate wholly in him, and made members of his own body? For performance whereof behoveth us, above all other, to be guided by his conduct and counsel chiefly. Search the scriptures, saith he, for they bear witness of me. Which saying St. Peter the apostle doth verify, advertising us of the same faith. And we have, saith he, a more sure word of the prophets, whereunto while ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, ye do well, until the dawn of the day appear, and the day-star arise in your hearts. Yea, the Lord himself in another place sendeth us back to the schooling of the law and the prophets, as unto infallible precepts and rules of pure and true doctrine. And albeit I may not deny that testimony of St. Paul to be most true, where he saith, that faith is a gift of God, issuing from his free mercy and bounty; yet doth he not thereby meanwhile exclude other lawful and ordinary means, taught for the better attainment thereof. As where he saith, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. So that their error is so much the more blameworthy, who, contented with that intricate and confused faith, as they term it, are of opinion, that to the rude and unlettered people, sufficeth enough to believe those things only that all other men do believe. But this common faith seemed not sufficient to the ancient fathers in that purer age

of the primitive and apostolic church; who, though they mistrusted not the lessons and instructions of the apostles, yet were they also in this respect adjudged praiseworthy, because they compared the doctrine which they received of the apostles, with the books of the law and the prophets; which observation of the elders was of no small importance to procure credit to the establishment of faith. But the state of christianity is now come, I know not to what pass, that this christian faith which behoved to be most deeply engraven in the hearts of every of us, is either not so well garnished in many of us as it ought to be; in others very faint and feeble, and in some others scarce any resemblance at all appearing; which slender portion and sparkle of faith, be it ever so small, as it is not altogether to be rejected; so neither is this wonderful sluggishness, and reckless security of the men in our age, in any respect tolerable: of whom, some over greedily busied in worldly affairs, some feeding their fancies upon fond delights, do either make no estimate at all of that inestimable jewel of faith, which only enricheth to the inheritance of eternal life, or at the least are not such diligent searchers of the same as they ought to be. To climb unto honour, what attempts and toil do some undertake! How filthily do others turmoil themselves in raking riches together! How daintily some men besmear themselves in perfumes and pleasures! who, because they know they cannot live here for ever, and do determine never to live godly, yield themselves wholly to live delicately and wantonly. To be advanced in court, to aspire to prelacy and ecclesiastical dignity, and to be a magistrate over the multitude, who doth not account it matter most honourable? Who adjudgeth not that man to be most fortunate, that by hook or crook hath scratched wonderful possessions together? Who thinks not that man to be most happy that liveth most pleasurably? And what shall I say of those arts and sciences which procure gainful lucre, and estimation of the world; wherein while we sweat and toil all our lives long, scarce one minute can be spared, no thought employed to the things which lead unto Christ? I speak not of those who seem to savour of no sap of religion, nor are endued with one drop of faith; who, resembling rather Diagoristes and Protagoristes than christians, are so utterly fallen from christianism to atheism, that, measuring this life with the present pleasures thereof, they do believe nothing holy, good, or worthy to be embraced, but those

plausible works and objects of nature wherewith our eyes and senses are most delighted. There is also another crew and company, not much unlike to these, who, perceiving christian religion to be assaulted, racked, and rent in sunder, as they say, with sects, schisms, and contrarieties of opinions, do persuade themselves that the religion is the best, which will acquaint itself with no religion at all!

What shall I say of them, whereof the number is exceeding great, who with full mouth do profess true religion itself, and will not deny but that they do believe in Jesus Christ, but being demanded, wherefore they do believe in him? what the will of God the Father in Christ is? what grace is? what and how great promises are laid up in store for us in Christ? how glorious the majesty and royalty of Christ's kingdom is? how inestimable the glory of his riches? what is the breadth, the length, the depth, the height thereof? how wonderful the love of his knowledge? how great the force and power of faith is? and upon what principal pillars and foundations it is builded? they can render scarce any reason at all! Forasmuch therefore, as the infallible certainty and true understanding of these things can be attained unto rightly from no where else than from the holy closets of the sacred scriptures; it shall be very requisite and needful, that every one of us employ all our senses and powers of the mind, continually exercised in the same. For howsoever christian divinity is tossed and turmoiled to and fro, with innumerable, intricate, entangled, and wandering questions, yet faith remaineth one, self-same, nevertheless both pure and simple; and as it is but one, so ought all men necessarily to be endued therewith wholly. That is to say, that we all know Christ, that we repose all our anchor hold of affiance in Christ, and that we imprint Christ in the bowels of our soul, as we are commanded by the mouth of God the Father, seeing there is no name besides this name given under heaven, in whom the treasure and hope of man's felicity may safely shroud itself. Let princes therefore learn to know this Christ; let subjects attend upon him; let ancient fathers take hold of him; let young men embrace him; let the rich enlarge their treasury with this precious jewel; and let the poor seek as their relief to be refreshed by him. Who indeed can elsewhere by no means be found more easily than in the very sacred well-springs of the prophetical scriptures; notwithstanding, whoso is desirous to procure

this joyful jewel, must first of necessity make earnest and diligent search therefore. For this precious pearl is not allotted to any, but unto them that will search for it; nor doth this heavenly manna feed any but the hungry. The soul must be very thirsty, that must taste of this liquor that gusheth from out of the conduit pipes of eternal life. This gate is not opened to the lazy and slothful drone, but unto him that will knock. Knock, saith he, and it shall be opened unto you. Seek, and ye shall find. All persons, without exception, are granted free access to the treasury of this kingdom. It is laid open for all estates, but all catch it not, except such as offer force for it. For what, I beseech you, is more forcible than faith? What more mighty, if it be true faith, if it be lively faith, yea, if it be true christian faith? As that is, which, displaying banner under his Captain, Christ, doth fight in heaven, and combat in the air against the princes and powers of the air, against spiritual wickednesses from above; doth keep continual wars against infinite hazards in the earth, and in hell against Beelzebub; against the furies and gates of the hells; yea, against death it fighteth for eternal life, against the law for righteousness, and against horror of conscience for freedom and peace.

Therefore, considering this faith is of such power and efficacy, yea, so necessary to be frequented in all the actions of man's life; what remaineth from henceforth, but that all and every one of us, cry out unto the same Christ, and beseech him to impart unto us the true knowledge and understanding of himself, to enlighten the glimmering sight of our dazzled, fleshly eyes, with the most bright and orient beams of this gladsome faith? and that he will vouchsafe at length to bring that to pass in us, that he used sometimes with his apostles, as when he discovered unto them the holy scriptures upon the way as they travelled? For so we read, And he began at Moses, and at all the prophets, and interpreted unto them in all the scriptures, the things which were written of him. And immediately after, Then opened he their understanding that they might know the scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written. Luke xxiv. Whereby appeareth plainly the duty and office that is required in the expositors of the holy scriptures; that, omitting all superfluous circumlocutions, and unprofitable quiddities of questions, they instruct the people in those principles and rules of the scriptures chiefly, which

avail most to the nourishment and increase of faith. In this kind of argument, forasmuch as in this sermon behoved me to frame my simple skill, according to the estate of the present matter, and opportunity of time, and that it seemed good to my friends to have this little treatise published in print, to the view of the common people, as not altogether unworthy the reading; I have yielded to their request, that it might be imprinted. And although my meaning was at the first to have the same directed to the behoof of the Jews chiefly, yet I trust it will not be altogether unprofitable to the christian readers. First, because it may so be, yea, I fear me, it may also justly be feared, lest amongst the number of them which say that they believe in Christ, some haply will be found, in whose lips only this faith rolleth at large, and hath not yet pierced any deeper, nor taken root in their hearts, nor are they as yet so sufficiently learned, that, if matter come to trial and proof, they can render a true and undoubted reason of this their faith. Moreover, admit that a man stand assured and stedfast in the certainty of his faith, yet what faith is there so sure, constant, and unvanquishable, but may be made more stable and perfect? For if St. Paul did see sometime as in a dark riddle; if the apostles, notwithstanding so many miracles wrought in their sight, needed yet the interpretation of scriptures; if those which received the word by the preaching of Paul, did nevertheless confer his doctrine with the scriptures, to see whether they agreed together, as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xvii. what should hinder us to do the like? that by this means, we also might increase daily from faith to faith.

Finally, forasmuch as our ancient and deadly enemy doth not more cruelly malign, nor more outrageously assail any one thing so much as this our faith in Christ; surely I judge this above all other most requisite, that every one of us have especial regard to be, as much as possible, armed and guarded with this target of faith, that we may courageously encounter all attempts and assaults of the devil. Whereunto, how available this little sermon will be, I know not—that let Christ our Lord himself see unto, and give his merciful aid therein. I, for my slender capacity, have performed what I was able, and as much as the Lord granted me; whom I most heartily beseech to bless and increase thy holy studies, godly reader, and to direct the same to the honour and glory of his name. Amen.

A SERMON

OF THE TRUE AND GLADSOME OLIVE TREE, MENTIONED IN THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE ROMANS, CHAP. XI. PREACHED AT LONDON BY A FAITHFUL MINISTER OF GOD, JOHN FOX, AT THE CHRISTENING OF A CERTAIN JEW. TRANSLATED OUT OF LATIN INTO ENGLISH.

First, as duty requireth, I do yield most humble thanks to our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, whom it hath pleased of his unsearchable mercy and bountiful love towards us, to minister so notable an occasion of our assembly, this present day and place; and so fruitful an argument for me to impart unto you all. Secondly, I do no less heartily thank, than worthily commend in the Lord, all you that are present, who, according to your accustomed manner, are so willingly and joyfully gathered together, induced hereunto, not through any vain delight of fond novelty, but of a serious and studious zeal of godliness; not as gazers of frivolous fantastical fables, but as willing witnesses of this great and inestimable benefit of almighty God. Lastly, I do from the bottom of my heart rejoice in the behalf of this person, for whose cause we are now met here together; who being transported from out of the uttermost parts of Barbary into England, and conversant amongst us by the space of six whole years, renouncing now at the last the natural contumacy of his native country, doth with so earnestly bent affection of voluntary will, cheerfully desire to become a member of Jesus Christ, and to be made partaker of his holy congregation through faith and baptism. And withal I most humbly beseech almighty God, that he will not only vouchsafe his gracious increase to this glorious work begun with this Israelite stranger, but also to allure the whole remnant of the circumcised race, by this his example, to be desirous of the same communion. So that at the length, all nations, as well Jews as Gentiles, embracing the faith and sacraments of Christ Jesus, acknowledging one Shepherd, uniting together in one sheepfold, may, with one voice, one soul, and one

general agreement, glorify the only begotten Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and be glorified again of him. And that it may please him of his singular clemency to grant the same, as also to bless these our days with quiet, calm, and joyful tranquillity, which we do now enjoy under the government of our most gracious sovereign, and her most honourable magistrates, I beseech you of your charity to join with me in heart and mind unto the eternal God, Father of us all, with the same prayer which his only begotten Son taught us in the gospel.

The Prayer, Our Father, &c.

Forasmuch as in the administration of the sacraments of the church, I do well perceive that both by the word of God, and by an ancient and solemn custom amongst many, it hath been a use to have somewhat, for the better instruction of their auditories, read and expounded out of the books of holy scripture; and deliberating likewise with myself, what course I might best keep at this present, as well to serve the offered opportunity, as also chiefly to satisfy the public commodity of you all; I could not determine upon any one text of the whole scripture to be opened unto you, more profitable for your learning, more effectual for exhortation, more applicable to our age, and more agreeable for this present occasion, than the sentence of St. Paul the apostle, not very long, but of wonderful force, taken out of the eleventh chapter of his epistle written to the Romans. And to the end you may receive the same to your greater comfort, it behoveth you to yield earnest and heedful attention, not with your bodily ears only, but with the ears of your mind also, to these things which I shall utter unto you. Hearken ye therefore to the words of the apostle, even as himself hath spoken them.

To the Romans the eleventh chapter.

I speak unto you, Gentiles, in as much as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I will magnify mine office, if by any means I may provoke them which are my flesh, and may save some of them; for if the casting away of them be the receiving of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For if the first fruits be holy, the whole mass is holy also; and if the root be holy, the branches will be holy also. And if some of the branches are broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wast graffed in amongst them, and made partaker of the root and fatness of the true and natural olive tree, boast not thyself against the branches; for if thou do boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root beareth thee. Thou wilt say then, The branches are broken off that I may be engraffed in. Thou sayest

well; for unbelief sake they were broken off, and thou stoodest stedfast in faith. Be not high minded, therefore, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest it come to pass that he spare not thee. Behold the kindness and rigour of God; upon them which fell, rigour; but kindness towards thee, if thou persevere in kindness; or else thou shalt be hewn off, and they, if they continue not still in unbelief, shall be engraffed in again. For God is of power to graff them in again. For if thou wert cut out of a natural wild olive tree, and contrary to nature were engraffed into the true olive tree, how much more shall the branches be graffed in again unto their own olive tree! For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery, lest you should wax proud in your own conceits, that blindness is partly happened unto Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be accomplished. And so all Israel shall be saved, as it is written, There shall come out of Sion one that shall deliver, and shall take away ungodliness from Jacob, &c.

Dearly beloved, you have heard what the apostle of the Gentiles doth speak unto us Gentiles; you have heard his discourse of the Jews, of their unbelief, and of their rejection. You have heard the doctrine and comparison of St. Paul touching the true olive tree and the wild olive tree; touching the natural branches and the grafts; touching faith and infidelity; touching the mercy of God, and the severity of his justice; touching the modesty and constancy of the faithful; touching the fulness of the Gentiles; finally, touching the last calling home and reclaiming of the Jews. This is a very large theme, as ye see, and full of plentiful matter, which for the difficulty, as it seems to surmount my weakness to reach unto, so it requires your more careful attention that ye may duly conceive the same. In the debating whereof it behoves me neither to say too little, neither is there any utterance of man else able, for the largeness of the matter exceeding all possibility, to speak sufficiently. Notwithstanding, since I have presumed to enter upon this enterprise, being of itself of wonderful importance, albeit I may seem to falter and faint, as oppressed with the heavy burden thereof, yet will I not retire, but will proceed with affiance, as well as I may, resting myself wholly upon the grace of Christ; and will, by your patience, speak, though not so much as the cause requires, yet as much as the goodness of God will permit at present.

The whole action of the sermon of Paul is divided into two special parts, whereof the one concerns the Jews; the other appertains properly to us Gentiles. In the behalf of the Jews, he laments their fall, reproves their unbelief, gives them unto us for an example to behold the severe

rigour of God's justice, discovers the cause of God's wrath; and being careful for their safety, excites them to a holy emulation. Finally, prophesying as it were of their last reconcilement, he encourages the poor outcasts with hope of recovery of God's mercy again. As concerning the Gentiles, he commends their faith, advances the inestimable goodness of God towards them; calls them back to remembrance of their former misery and despaired estate; rejoices with them for their present felicity; entirely requests and earnestly exhorts them that they swell not with pride; dissuades from disdainful triumphing upon forlorn abjects, persuading to modesty of mind; mitigates the haughty arrogancy of their hearts with a most wholesome medicine. Finally, setting down a perfect pattern of the Jews' calamity in manner of a precedent holding them back in a suitable fear; he discloses the wonderful power that Almighty God useth in disposing and translating his benefits, that by these means he may qualify the insolency of the Gentiles; and so retain them meanwhiles within the limits of modest sobriety until the fulness of time, being of all parts accomplished; each nation, as well Jews as Gentiles, through the most blessed operation of grace, may be united and gathered together at the length into one society, and partake of one congregation. And this much concerning the two parts of Paul's sermon.

The manner and kind of his instruction here, wherein he resembleth the church of God to AN OLIVE TREE, is metaphorical and prophetical. Which olive tree consists of three parts; of the root, of the stock, and of the branches. Under the title of the root he denotes Abraham and other holy patriarchs unto us, because in them appeared the first buds and blossoms of God's promise. By the stock, or body of the tree, he represents unto us the church scattered upon the face of the earth; a congregation gathered together out of the whole number of the faithful; which at the first, budding in small issues from out that holy root, and so, by little and little, increasing in strength and obtaining a proportionable stature, at the length, through the plentiful fatness of the bountiful root, with outstretched compass spreads abroad itself into most beautiful branches and boughs. By which plain demonstration we have an apparent view painted out as it were, both of the old synagogue of the Jews, and the new church of the Gentiles. And because no man shall think that this olive tree is

sprung up at all adventures, or planted by man's industry, he calleth it by the name of a holy issue, out of a holy root.

There is no man made husbandman or woodward of this olive tree, but Almighty God himself alone is so; who, with all possible diligence, attendeth to the dressing and nourishing thereof, and will continually preserve the same. Howsoever this olive tree alter the beauty of his blossoms, or change the hue of his leaves yet it still endures unremovable, nor is at any time cut clean away. In like manner fares it with the church of God; which being wholly established upon the eternal foundation of God's most sacred promise, standeth, as it were, in a certain eternity, unvanquishable, and so shall continue permanent beyond all ages, though the members and branches thereof remain not always in one estate; and although it happen many times that the first issues become the last, and, contrariwise, the last made first: the natural buds yield place to the savage slips, the proper and old grown branches are cut off, and new taken in; and so by wonderful interchange, some grow, some stand at a stay, some increase, and some starve quite away, as we see now and then come to pass in husbandry and gardening; where plants and trees are many times pruned of unfruitful sprouts, sometimes despoiled altogether of boughs and the stocks newly engrafted, to the end the trees may become more fruitful. After the same manner, that heavenly gardener, woodward, or plant setter, doth many times prune this little olive tree of his church, but never plucketh it up by the roots, as Augustine doth witness, cutting off betimes windshaken boughs and starved branches, that new plants may prosper the better. So that, according to the saying of the same Augustine, many ravening wolves possess the church within, whiles many sheep in the mean space stand without the doors. Which thing can be verified by no one example more aptly than by this comparison of the Jews and Gentiles. Of whom let us hear what the apostle speaketh.

I speak, saith he, unto you, Gentiles, in as much as I am an apostle of the Gentiles, I will magnify mine office, &c. Forasmuch as in debating of any matter in question whatsoever, two things are chiefly to be noted; namely, the person that speaketh, and the matter that is spoken of; we will by God's assistance prosecute them both at this

present. Let us first, therefore, consider the person of him that speaketh; then, as order of teaching requires, the cause whereof he disputes.

I. As touching the cause here debated, as no reasonable man can make any just quarrel to doubt upon, so ought not the famous and well-known authority of the person to be defrauded of any his due estimation. For what authority can be of more force to purchase credit or to procure advancement to the function, than the name of an apostle? And amongst the apostles themselves also, what one ought to be more entire and of more credit amongst the Gentiles, than the apostle Paul? Who, if being sent by man's ordinance, had come unto us, ought yet to be friendly entertained for his courtesy, so long as he teacheth the sincere truth. But whereas now he is by an especial calling peculiarly assigned, not from men, nor by men, but by Christ Jesus himself, an apostle to instruct us Gentiles; how much more it behoves us Gentiles, his scholars, to attend our own proper schoolmaster and peculiar apostle, inasmuch as he was especially called and chosen for this only purpose, as he witnesses of himself, that we should with all faithful cheerfulness of mind embrace his doctrine. Wherefore, proceed on, my dearly beloved brethren, be not ashamed of your old schoolmaster, since he himself is so little ashamed to acknowledge us his scholars, as that accounting the same his greatest glory, he therein advances his office so much the more, because he hath obtained this title to be called an apostle of the Gentiles; and therefore saith that he magnifieth his ministry. Which title, notwithstanding, he boasts not of upon any vainglorious ostentation, but compelled hereunto through necessity of circumstances only to magnify his function. Neither is this any strange or new kind of doctrine; for the necessary order of teaching so requires oftentimes for the more credit of the doctrine, that is taught to extol and advance, as well the office of the teacher, as also the authority of the office. Even as in another epistle, written to the Galatians, we read, how he was enforced to maintain his countenance against his adversaries with this only target and cognizance of his apostleship. Behold, saith he, I Paul speak unto you; if you be circumcised, Christ doth profit you nothing at all. Neither does the apostle differ much in this place from that figurative phrase of speech, to the end that having

weighty matters to debate with us Gentiles, he might win so much the more estimation, thereby to beautify the authority of his function. I speak, saith he, to you, Gentiles; I will magnify mine office.

II. You have heard now of the person of the teacher, and of his lawful authority; it follows to make manifest unto you the substantial and material part of all whatsoever is here debated in this whole eleventh chapter. And the same may be divided into three common places or parts, chiefly.

The first whereof doth concern the treaty of the casting away of the Jews, and receiving of the Gentiles. In the first member whereof, which toucheth the Jews, the severe justice of God is noted unto us: in that other, that hath relation to the Gentiles, the unspeakable mercy and goodness of God is disclosed unto us.

In the second part, the cause why they were rejected, and those others admitted, is set down unto us.

In the third place, the apostle foreshows, and by way of mystery, as it were, prophesies of the reconcilement of the Jews that should ensue, and the full accomplishment of the Gentiles.

As concerning the reconcilement of the Jews, we will discourse upon in fit place for the same hereafter. In the mean space, touching that part that appertaineth to the casting away of the Jewish nation, as many things are contained therein worthy not to be negligently overpassed, so this one caution ought diligently to be marked; that no such thought enter into any of our minds, as though the Jews are so altogether forsaken of God, and despoiled of spiritual consolation, as that no sparkle of mercy is reserved in store for them to hope upon. Neither that the whole stock of that nation is so altogether supplanted, that no remnant of all the root thereof hath any drop of moisture laid up for them in the fountain of God's free election. For both those opinions are utterly refuted by the apostle; the one in the beginning of the chapter, the other in the end thereof, as appears by the very entry of the same chapter.

I say then, hath God cast away his people? God forbid: for I am also an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not forsaken his people whom he hath foreknown, &c. as though he would say, Albeit God hath estranged the greater part of his people

from himself, yet hath he not so utterly extinguished the whole nation, as though he had reserved to himself no suitable number of all the remnant of that seed; like as we read what happened to Elias, who, lamenting that he alone was left of all the true worshippers of God, was answered that there remained yet seven thousand men that had not bowed the knee to the idol Baal.

And, therefore, concerning the multitude of them that fell away, as many things are worthy to be noted, as I said before, in the rejection of them; so this one thing chiefly amongst the rest ought heedfully to be marked, according as the apostle himself here noteth; namely, that this their blindness happened not unto them by haphazard, by chance and unawares, as though God by his divine providence did not foresee the same beforehand, and ordain the whole course of this action before, by the unchangeable decree of his incomprehensible wisdom. For otherwise, how could the Lord himself in far distance of time prophesy before by the mouths of the prophet Isaiah and his servant David, that their eyes should be blinded, lest they should see; their backs should be made crooked lest they should yield, their ears should be stopped lest they should hear, if he had not foreseen the same at the first; or how could he foresee it, unless he had likewise decreed it. But now, forasmuch as God and nature do bring nothing to pass unadvisedly, by how much the more grievously the Jews were overcharged with the severe rigour of God's justice, for what could be more heavy, than to be razed out of the book of life, so much the more heinous must the canker be that provoked this so sharp and bitter corrosive; which cankered contagion that wrought their perdition, is most expressly declared by these words of St. Paul, For their unbelief, saith he. Whereby all men may easily conjecture how horrible an infection this fretting sore, unbelief, is adjudged in the sight of God.

But first we must open unto you the nature and substance of this unbelief. Unbelief is a thing wholly opposite and adversary to belief; by which contraposition you may easily perceive the right nature or definition of unbelief. For if faith or belief be a certain infallible knowledge of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, ensealed in our hearts, whereby we do embrace him, as given unto us from God the Father, for us to repose our whole affiance in the same; it is evident then, by the same reason, in what sort

we ought to judge of unbelief. For whosoever hath ascribed the confidence of his salvation, and free remission of his sins, to any other person than unto Jesus Christ; or to any other creature than unto the faith which ought to be in Christ Jesus; the same may well be called an unbelieving person. Moreover, as there are many degrees amongst the faithful, and like as the faith of some persons is more abundant and plentiful, in some others scarce ripe, and less fruitful, in many scarcely any blossom or issue at all appearing; so is the manifold variety of unbelief likewise expressed in the scriptures, after many and sundry sorts. For there is a certain unbelief, under the which, as under certain embers, some sparkle of faith is raked up, be it ever so small; which is signified in that sentence of scripture, where it is said, I do believe, Lord; Lord, help thou my unbelief. There is another kind of unbelief, which although it is as yet overspread with a certain darkened mist of foggy ignorance, and is tossed to and fro with many wandering clouds and doubtful vapours; yet because it peepeth now and then abroad, because it glittereth and shineth somewhat, and endeavoureth by all means possible to express his orient and bright beams, it seemeth not to rest in despaired estate. There is yet also another kind of unbelief, which the Lord doth reprove, but forsaketh not, as was that whereof mention is made in the gospel. And he rebuked their unbelief. Thomas Didymus believed not the disciples, when they told him that the Lord was risen again. A great unbelief, but not shaken off yet. There is also, small faith, and no faith. And it happeneth oftentimes that the one is so named, yea, and reproached of the other. The disciples themselves also were sometimes worthily rebuked for their unbelief, to whom was said, O ye unfaithful and perverse generation, Matt. xvii. Peter was once yielded over to the very brink of drowning for none other cause, but for his unbelief sake; yet our Lord, stretching out his hand, afterwards saved him. This was a dangerous unbelief. But that other example, not of his distrust only, but of his faithless revolting, was far more perilous; when the same Peter, not once or twice only, but three times in one night, not only did not acknowledge, but also forsware his Lord and Master! yet was he not therefore deprived from his apostleship. And it is not to be doubted but that many persons do intrude upon the possession of christian title, who can gloriously vaunt of Christ

with their tongues, but deny him utterly in their deeds, believing nothing less in their hearts stedfastly than that whereof they carry an outward resemblance in their talk courageously. And because this serpigo* resteth within those persons, and crawleth to no further infection of the congregation, they are not therefore barred from partaking the sacraments of this church, which we call the visible church. And what shall be said of them who many times accuse themselves of their own unbelief, being valiant soldiers nevertheless in the camp of christian faith; when as on the contrary part, many others do firmly believe themselves to be mere strangers to infidelity, whose faith, if it should be placed in the face of the enemy, will of very cowardice forthwith flee the field?

And albeit all these examples of unbelief, whereof I have made mention, may justly be reproved as blameworthy, and void of all colour of defence, yet may they be borne withal, after a sort. But this kind of infidelity of all others is most horrible and execrable, when men do rush headlong into such obstinate resistance, that they will not only not acquaint themselves with the truth, being laid open before their eyes, but will, wittingly, shut up their senses from the beholding thereof, because they will not see it; and will spurn thereat, not in words and profession only, but will cruelly persecute the same also, with all manner of outrage, slaughter, and blood, blasphemies, and most despiteful execrations. And this is that unbelief, which being more noisome than any pestilent botch, may rightly and properly be called the Jewish infidelity, and it seemeth after a certain manner their inheritable disease, who are, after a certain sort, from their birth, naturally carried through perverse frowardness into all malicious hatred and contempt of Christ, and his christians.

And for this cause especially, I suppose it came to pass, that whereas God, so many hundred years before, had continually pardoned their wonderful and manifold wickedness and impiety; and, after his wonted manner, had from time to time endured and winked at their horrible rebellion and idolatry, he could now no longer forbear their abominable cruelty, committed against his well beloved Son, whom they traitorously murdered and hanged on a tree, but must needs avenge him upon the whole nation, and root out the remnant of the whole race altogether.

* A tetter, or ringworm.

And not without great cause, for how could it else be, after that he was once revealed unto them, for whose cause only all that commonwealth of the Jews was instituted and erected? What cause remained then that the Jewish synagogue should be of any longer continuance? or to what purpose might it serve afterwards? What! that they might persevere still in sacrificing the blood of goats and lambs to the Lord? And where should this be done? in one family only? But God is not delighted with such sacrifices, nor dwelleth he in temples made by men, but even in the very hearts of men. He taketh no pleasure in external pomp, and outward observances, nor gorgeous garnishings of the body: he vouchsafeth those worshippers, which do worship him in spirit and in truth, John iv. These old moth-eaten shadows had their time, and not their time only, but their lawful use also; that so under shadows, types, and figures, they might prefigure the certainty and truth of things to come. But after that He was once manifested, who was the true Holy of holy ones, who was the true and lively Temple of God, who should display unto the world the true righteousness, who should be of power to give everlasting salvation, and should be Lord and King of all nations: what needeth then any further shadows? Or how could the Lord endure their blindness any longer, when after the coming of their Lord, they not only ceased not to abuse the shadows of the law to other purposes than they were ordained for, but also, of a vain and false persuasion, to the pernicious example of other nations, yea, not without the manifest peril of the utter overthrow of the whole world, did likewise teach that true righteousness ought to be ascribed to the outward observances of those shadows and ceremonies? The which the mercy of God seemeth not only to have foreseen, but adjudged also by no means tolerable; for otherwise it might have come to pass, that the safety of the Jews might have been an estoppell* to the receiving of the Gentiles, and so have procured their unrecoverable destruction, through false opinion of the doctrine of righteousness.

But since there was none other mean or way for the Gentiles to have due access to true righteousness, but by cutting down the carnal thicket of ceremonial brambles and bloody briers, hereupon it pleased Almighty God to

* A bar, an impediment.

dispose the interchanges and alterations of times according to his unsearchable counsel: that so the decay of the Jews might be the riches of the Gentiles; and the casting away of that froward generation, might be the reconcilement of the whole world. And thus much, by the way, of the cutting away of the Israelites; which, although it redounded to our inestimable benefit, may not therefore provoke us to swell and be puffed up with pride; whereof St. Paul doth wisely forewarn us to be well advised.

And if some of the branches were broken off, saith he, and thou being a wild olive tree wast engraffed in amongst them, and made partaker of the root and fatness of the true olive tree, boast not thyself against the branches, &c. First, whereas he alludes and resembles the cutting away of certain of the Jews, to certain branches of the true natural olive tree, it appears hereby sufficiently, that this casting away appertained not to the whole nation of the Jews, but to some portion of them only: for there remain then, many of the same kindred, amongst whom was St. Paul himself, and the other apostles, besides a very great portion of the remnant of the same people, which followed Christ, and acknowledged him with all their faith. Again, the very first issues of our christian faith sprang out of that stock, from whence we Gentiles must needs confess to have received the very entry and foundation thereof. It appears therefore that this was not a general rejection, neither that the whole race was drawn altogether into the same gulf of perdition, but a portion only, and the same Paul terms them to have been cut off.

And wherefore chose he to say that they were cut off, rather than that they fell away, namely since it is out of all question that the Jews' decay proceeded from their own default, and through unbelief? What moved the apostle then to use this figurative phrase of speech, of cutting, saying that they were cut off, and fell not away of their own accord; that they were plucked away, not that they brake off? Forsooth, because it is not all one to be cut off, and to fall from. The things that are cut off, cannot choose but fall away; but the things that fall away, are not always properly to be said to be cut off. What is meant therefore by this word, cutting off? Forsooth, nothing else but to make us conceive that the heavenly and unsearchable hand of Almighty God did overthrow

this building: even the self-same hand, which with wonderful workmanship doth plant, prune, bind up, underprop, adorn, order, and beautify this olive tree of his church, not after the proportion of man's imagination, but after the direction of his own determination and impenetrable wisdom. For, as a natural olive tree and other like trees, the buds, issues, twigs, and branches, being either cut off, or newly engraffed, work not that of their own power, but receive the same by the aid and industry of man, even so, in administering the functions of the church, if we seek for the original cause of the workman, by whose conduct all inferior causes are induced to observe their due order and course; the same must be adjudged to proceed from the force and efficacy of the unmeasurable election of the heavenly Workman only, who, by wonderful dispensation maketh choice where him liketh, and refuseth whom he listeth, according to the testimony of scripture; I will take compassion on whom I will take compassion, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy, Exod. xxxiii. Whereunto accordeth St. Paul, speaking after the same manner, It is neither the willer, nor the runner, but God that taketh compassion, Rom. ix. Where fortune and chance may go play, there truly no endeavours of man can avail, much less can men's merits or deservings be of any force, neither can ought else bear the palm here, but the only election of Almighty God. The nature and property of which election, we may learn elsewhere out of the same Paul. The remnant, saith he, are saved through the election of grace; which grace cannot be said to be grace at all if man's merits have pre-eminence before it. For that which is given according to the proportion of deservings, and not according to grace, seemeth in Augustine's judgment, a reward rather of duty than a free gift of promise. But a question may be moved here, perhaps, whether the Gentiles were not engraffed for their faith's sake; and whether the Jews were not supplanted from the true olive for their unbelief? Which interchanged dispensation, what else does it explain unto us, than a manifest demonstration as well of the meritorious desert, as well of faith as of unbelief?

I answer hereunto, first as concerning the faith of the Gentiles, and the infidelity of the Jews. I confess, indeed, that these may seem to carry some show, in the eyes

and judgment of some, to be deemed the very original causes of the free acceptance of the Gentiles, and likewise of the repulse of the Jews. But for all this, we hear not yet what were the causes of the faith of the one, and of the unbelief of the other. And, therefore, if we will enter into a deep and more especial inquiry after the principal causes of this action, truly we shall never find them elsewhere, than in the hidden and secret closet of God's election. For be it so admitted that the Gentiles were for this cause engraffed into the true olive tree, because they did believe; yet, if question be moved, from whence their faith proceeded first? it may well be answered, not from any of their merits truly, neither in respect of any of their own worthiness, more than as the shoots which do issue out of the natural wild olive tree, can boast of any their excellency, wherefore they ought to be transplanted into the fatness of the true olive tree. The like answer in sensible wise may suffice touching the Jews, when if the cause of their dismembering from their true natural olive tree be inquired, I answer, for their unbelief, undoubtedly. And yet this answer does not satisfy the purport of Paul's disputation. For since faith is an especial gift of God, issuing from out of the only mercy and grace of God, and not from man's free choice, the question rebounds back again from whence it began. What was the cause then why the natural branches were so bereft of this singular gift after the revealing of their Messias? Whether because the barren, unfruitful, wild olive tree did surmount the true olive in excellency of fatness; that is, in integrity of life and merits? Surely I think not so. Wherefore then were the Jews forsaken, and the Gentiles received? St. Paul maketh this answer. First, that this repulse reached not to all the Israelites in general. Then, as concerning the remnant, whatsoever work was wrought in them, was not administered without the singular counsel and foreknowledge of God; which foreknowledge doth evidently appear by the continual discourse of the prophets and psalms; where the Holy Ghost foretelleth many hundred years before, of the wilful blindness of the Jews. This counsel of God is made notably discernible unto us by the sequel, and final cause; the apostle not only testifying most evidently, that God was the worker of their blindness, but also rendering the reason that induced God thereunto. Where disputing at large of the rueful ruin of the Jews, and searching for the cause

thereof; What then, saith he, did they therefore offend, because they should be cast away? Which were as much to say, as though God should be delighted in their destruction. God forbid! Nay, rather that by their fall salvation should happen to the Gentiles, and that by their unbelief the Gentiles might obtain mercy.

But a question will be moved here again; whether it were not as easy for Almighty God to have given mercy to them both, if it had pleased him? Mark what the apostle saith hereunto; Nay, rather for this cause only God did shut up all under unbelief that he might have mercy on all. For as it pleased Almighty God to exercise his long and severe rigour in old time against the heathenish castaways, and wretched abjects, the Gentiles, until at length, with his merciful kindness unlooked for, he had shaken off from their eyes the foggy scales of darkened error, and, after their long infidelity, allured them at the last to the blessed knowledge of his sacred gospel:—even the very same may we perceive to have happened to the nation of the Israelites, by contrary interchange of persons and times; that so, those which sometimes were the first, should now become the last, and those which by so long continuance of inheritably descending race, did lawfully enjoy the interest of the true olive tree, as the true natural offsprings thereof, being now cut clean away from their holy root, must be constrained to forsake their standing, and yield place to others, and may learn now at the length to endure the grievous storms and cruel tempests of God's just vengeance, which the Gentiles before them had long time experimented to their great dolour and sorrow, until at length having subdued their disdainful pride, and tamed the natural stiffneckedness of their hearts, they may obtain the self-same mercy together with the Gentiles, not for any of their deserts, but through the free mercy and bounty of Almighty God only, and so be restored at length to the ancient inheritance of their first possessed root. And this is it that St. Paul seemeth here to prophesy, in this mystical oracle and most comfortable message, concerning the reclaiming of the Jews to come.

Whereby it may easily appear, how that there is no one thing in all the actions of man's life so worthy of praise, whereby man may be puffed up to stand in his own conceit, or disdainfully tread down the infirmity of his weak brethren, whether he have regard to the lenity of God's

free mercy, or attentively behold the severity of his justice. For so the apostle hath here set them both out unto us, to be diligently considered, Behold, saith he, the mercy and wrath of God ; wrath towards them that fell, but towards thee that dost persist in faith, mercy, &c. And thus doth the apostle right well advertise us ; but that we for our part may be able to comprehend them both, the especial assistance of God had need to enlighten our understanding. For there are no small number of people, whose senses, either through ignorance, or else through negligence, are dazzled and darkened in the right comprehending thereof. Amongst which ignorant sort of people, first may the Jews be rightly placed, who, being deluded with a preposterous opinion of sinister judgment, do interpret this bounty of God to be there, from whence they ought to have feared his terrible indignation. Secondly, amongst the negligent number may be reckoned the Gentiles, of whom many are over slow and sluggish to enter into due consideration of God's goodness, but quick-sighted enough to pierce into his wrathful severity. Of those two sorts of people, I do purpose, by God's assistance, to discourse somewhat, so far as the time will permit, to the end I may profit them both, if it be possible, or at least offer inconvenience to neither of them, as I trust.

And first, I can never wonder sufficiently enough at the Jews, for that many years and ages enduring the sharp and severe scourge of God's dreadful displeasure, they could notwithstanding never have any feeling of their own calamity, nor perceive the heavy clog of God's grievous vengeance, nor yet any affection to be disburdened of their infidelity, sweetly beguiling themselves with a glavering* show of a false shadow, flattering themselves, likewise, with a fantastical hope of an earthly kingdom, whereof they had never any one word promised by God ; and awaiting for the coming of such a Messias, whom never any of the prophets knew. Finally, so far forth prevailed the deceit of this error, to confound the sensible part of their understanding mind, that, being otherwise a people most abhorred of God and men, they would nevertheless most arrogantly vaunt themselves to be more esteemed and more precious in the sight of God than all other nations, people, and tongues ; and that they were his only darlings, and therefore could not by any means be defrauded of the

* Flattering.

power of his promise, nor be sequestered from the true olive tree, whereof they were the natural branches, wallowing continually in a most filthy puddle of pestilent error, not much unlike to the Romish synagogue in this our age, whose senses seem to be intoxicated with the same sweet cup; which kind of people, being of all other nations most in need of the mercy of God, it is a wonder notwithstanding, to see how trimly they deceive themselves in the dispensation of pardons, whereof they falsely challenge to themselves chief stewardship, under the title of the church and inheritable succession of Peter's chair, which they have established at Rome for ever and ever! Persuading themselves that they have obtained the sole and singular prerogative of all ecclesiastical superiority, such as can never be abolished by any continuance of consuming time, but must remain inviolable, world without end, nor can ever be dissolved by breach of succession, nor at any time be destitute and void of the favour of God. But if you demand of them the cause of this so inestimable a blessing, what will they answer? Forsooth, hath not God, say they, promised that he will never forsake his church? What then? Have not the keys lineally descended unto us from blessed St. Peter, ever hitherto being the chief head of the apostles, which the Lord hath promised shall never be taken away? Is there any more yet? What! is it possible for God's truth itself to defraud the credit of his covenant, whereunto he hath bound himself with a most sacred oath?

Very well now. And whereupon doth the blind arrogancy of the Jewish nation magnify their race? Do we not derive our pedigree, say they, lineally from our most holy father Abraham? Are we not born and named Israelites, by the name of our great grandsire, Israel, the patriarch? Did not the Lord credit us only with the safe custody of the ark of his covenant? Have not we a promise from God by the mouth of his prophets, of a Messias and Saviour to come? Hath not God prepared an everlasting throne for the kingdom of our Messias? Is not he of power to make his covenant inviolable, that with so many oaths hath ratified the same? Or will he not perform the oaths which he hath made?

Surely I will not much gainsay that it is indeed no small matter whereof each party debateth so largely of the promises of Almighty God. But due consideration ought to be had of the mind and intent of him that maketh the

promise in the scriptures; and the same well weighed and compared with the due circumstances and other places of the scripture, if we will be accounted true and sincere interpreters of God's holy scriptures: that is to say, it behoves us duly and orderly to define and dispose all and every thing apart by itself, not those things only which are promised, but withal the persons, the place, the cause, and consideration, and all other circumstances of the promises. And, therefore, albeit we do grant unto them that all those promises are true, whereupon they brag so much, touching the succession of the patriarchs and apostles, yet shall they never be able to win this at our hands, namely, that this ordinary descent according to the law of the flesh, is a sufficient foundation to build the church of God upon. In the which, if we behold nothing else besides the outward form of succession only, who can be so purblind as not to be able to discern the manifold alterations of orders and observances which the Lord from time to time hath changed and disposed contrary to the first constitutions? As for example, when God, instead of Cain, Esau, Ishmael, Saul, to whom appertained the ordinary succession and descent of the priesthood, of the birthright and inheritance of the kingdom, made especial choice of Abel, Isaac, Jacob, and David, who had no interest at all in the right of succession. In like manner forsaking the Jews he accepted [the Gentiles. Neither is it so much material to know where, or by what means, the church of christians sprang up at the first; so that it hold fast the sincerity of the pure word, of undefiled faith, and the due administration of the sacraments, by which three things the church is preserved and sanctified.

As concerning the promises of God, therefore, this is undoubtedly to be holden, that the promises are in their own nature simply true; yet in such wise true notwithstanding, as God hath not always chained them to time, place, or persons of men; which albeit were tied fast to place and persons, yet are the proud and highminded shaken off, the promises remaining still in their force. Even so the Jews, although they prescribe upon a promised place in Sion, Psal. cxxxii. "Here will I build my tabernacle, because I have chosen it." Again, in the prophecy of Isaiah, "This is my furnace; this is my fire," &c. Isa. xxxi. And although they have also a promise of the persons, when the blessing is promised to Abraham, and

to his seed for ever, yet this withstands not, but that rebels are punished by God, the temple consumed by fire, the altar thrown down, and the city sacked and destroyed. And yet the meanwhile Almighty God continueth stedfast in his promise nevertheless, but by a far other mean than man's capacity is able to conceive. Whereupon that holy and melodious psalmist, not without great reason, doth cry out in a certain place of his mystical sonnets in this wise, And it is marvellous in our eyes, Psal. cxviii.

Even so do I judge it convenient to esteem of the counterfeit succession of the apostolic and Romish see, which if our prelates enforce so narrowly to be straitened to the limits of place and persons, they must needs bewray their double error therein, being not only absurdly injurious to holy scriptures, but fondly careless in breaking the rules of logic. For in their arguing they do commonly thrust more into their conclusion, than in their former propositions. As if a man would frame an argument after this manner, The perpetuity of the promised succession is granted to Peter and his successors. The Romish prelates do succeed in Peter's chair or place. Therefore the Romish prelates are the only successors of Peter; the only universal bishops, the only princes of the church, whose faith can never faint.

But we have sufficiently enough discovered the maskings and jugglings of this Romish counterfeit elsewhere. And, therefore, lest we rove too much abroad from the mark, and wander from the olives, as the proverb saith, we will return again to Paul's olive tree, and the branches of the same, whereupon we promised before to discourse. Of the which branches, how some were broken off, and some others engraffed again into the true olive tree, we have already opened somewhat unto you out of the apostle. And not only out of the apostle this is opened, but the same was also set down at large, long time before the apostle, by the prophet Isaiah; out of which place of Isaiah it seemeth that the apostle took occasion of all this discourse. Let us Gentiles, therefore, mark well what Isaiah doth prophesy of the Jews. Let the Jews also attend to the preaching of their own prophet, who agreeth herein altogether with our apostle touching the Jews. Behold, saith he, the Lord of hosts shall break down the bow with power, and shall hew down the proud, and the high-minded shall he fell down. And there shall arise an issue

out of the root of Jesse, &c. Isa. x. And lest the Jews may cavil, that these speeches do nothing concern them, let them hearken again to the same prophet, not only prophesying of them, but also pointing unto the Jews with the finger, as it were, in the seventeenth chapter. And in that day it shall come to pass, that the glory of Jacob shall be made very thin, and the fatness of his flesh shall wax lean. And immediately after; Some gathering indeed shall be left in it. Even as in the shaking of an olive tree, whereupon remaineth two or three berries in the top of the uppermost row, and four or five in the broad fruitful branches thereof, saith the Lord God of Israel, &c. And again in another place, For it shall come to pass in the midst of the land, even in the midst of the people, as the shaking of an olive tree, and as the grapes are when the wine harvest is finished, chap. xxiv. And yet again, much more plainly, chap. lxv. Thus saith the Lord, Like as when sweet juice is found in the cluster, and one saith, Lose it not, for there is blessing in it; even so will I do for my servants' sake, that I may not destroy them all, &c.

Now, forasmuch as these things are so plain and so manifest, that they may be easily felt and handled as it were with the fingers, what answer dost thou make, thou froward nation of the Jews? What canst thou bring? What canst thou allege, if not to defend, yet to colour at the least, thy obstinate stubbornness? Hast thou any scriptures? No, surely. For nothing maketh more against thee, not only with open mouth exclaiming even to thy teeth against thy blindness, wherewith thou hast been so long overwhelmed; but also long since, by manifest tokens, foretelling how the same should come to pass. Wilt thou vouch the promises and covenants which God made unto thee of old? And what other thing did he promise thee at any time, than the same which thou dost so disdainfully pursue? Neither yet cease you to run onward, still gaping after, I know not what Messias to come. What! hath he not yet been sufficiently enough looked for by your progenitors, who waited for his coming by the space of two thousand years before he came? How long then will ye yet continue gazing, seeing these things are past already? How long will ye yield yourselves a mockery, not to God only, but a jesting stock also to all other nations of the world; since all people and tongues do so plainly conceive, that all things are long since accomplished in the person of

Christ Jesus, whatsoever all the prophets did prophesy of the Messias; and since the whole discourse of the holy scriptures doth so manifestly teach also that there is none other Christ, but the same that the whole world doth confess and worship?

But this one thing perhaps doth raise up your crests, and puff you up with pride; because you convey unto yourselves so long a descent of your genealogies and kindred from so famous ancestors, because ye fetch your pedigree and families from Abraham and the holy patriarchs, and in that respect you reproachfully disdain all other nations, as though God had created them to no purpose at all. But let us see by what reason, with what conscience, you are induced hereunto. If you judge this a matter of so great importance, that ye can rehearse, in a long beadroll of names, your generations descended out of the loins of Abraham; what! and cannot Ishmael, Esau, Saul; cannot Dathan and Abiram, and all that other evil rabble of Hebrews who made insurrection against Moses; finally, cannot many wicked kings amongst you, false prophets, horrible church robbers and idolaters, even amongst you, vaunt the selfsame race and parentage whereupon you brave yourselves so gloriously? Whereupon it appears plainly that this outward descent of blood and fleshly progeny, avails not so much for your challenge, but that there is some other thing that makes a kindly generation, and the true offspring of Abraham, in the sight of God. Moreover, if it may be lawful to glory in the ancient stock, what may be thought of Christ himself whom we do worship? In whom, if ye do inquire who was his father, he came not indeed from man, but descended from God. But if you demand of his mother, he is on the mother's side a Jew born, according to the flesh the son of Abraham, of the same seed that you are, whose children you challenge yourself to be according to the flesh. And wherefore then do ye so cruelly detest him? Why do your brethren so hatefully envy and malign your natural brother? And being Jews born yourselves, why do you so villainously persecute your natural kinsman, being likewise a Jew born, and why have you slain him so cruelly?

And what hath he committed at any time, worthy of this so monstrous rancour and cankered despite? Was it because he did profess himself to be the Son of God? Albeit he never spoke anything in his own commendation without

singular modesty, neither boasted in his speech further of himself than that he was the Son of man; yet if he were not the very true undoubted Son of God, do ye nominate some one man upon earth, whom you may justify was his father, and condemn the whole history of the new testament to be lies, if you can. What think you? would his apostles, and other his disciples, being daily and hourly conversant with himself, his mother, and his mother's husband, so thoroughly accompanied and acquainted with all the actions of his life, have been so wilfully and foolishly blinded, as to give such credit unto him, and to believe in him? Would they have settled the whole affiance of their salvation in him? Would they so courageously have undertaken so many perilous hazards of life? Would they so constantly have yielded their carcases to all manner of horrible tortures, not in words only, but with loss of life also, ratifying and testifying the things which they knew to be in him most assured, and that with effusion of their blood, if they had seen naught else in him beyond the natural substance of man, and had not rather conceived thoroughly to be in him a secret divinity, that was hidden under the veil of the flesh bodily? But if these things shall be but of small credit with you, what will you answer to those so great and manifold tokens of wonderful virtue, to such supernatural and prodigious wonders of his? What say ye to so great force of his divine operation, to so great power of his miracles, not wrought by him alone, but by his apostles also, through the virtue of his name only; yea, and long since now and then openly wrought in his church, through the effectual operation of his glorious name? What will you say to his so great majesty in word, innocency of life, certainty in prophesying? And, besides all these, his marvellous signs and tokens expressed in his own person? What will you say to that his incomprehensible glorious resurrection, his unspeakable ascension into the heavens; lastly, to those his most gracious gifts of the Holy Ghost, poured upon us from the heavens? What can you answer, I say, that all these so manifold, so wonderful, yea, so heavenly graces, might import else, than that there was in him a certain superexcellent divinity, beyond all measure, surmounting all reach and capacity of man's understanding?

All which, being approved with the testimony of so many witnesses, viewed and beholden with so many eyes, practised by the daily experience of so many Jews, ensealed

with so many hands and writings, published to us Gentiles by manifold reports of so many of your rabbins and great doctors of your own nation; if all these things shall yet seem to you but colourable, feigned, and unworthy of credit; why do ye not, with as good reason, condemn for false liars all and every your own prophets, patriarchs, your own law, yea, and the psalms also, and raze them out of remembrance, because they did many hundred years before, most expressly foreshow and prognosticate evidently, that all those things should come to pass, even in the same manner and order as they have been already accomplished. Amongst whom let Isaiah the prophet be adjudged a liar, because in the name of this Christ, he promiseth health to the blind, to the lame, to the halt, and to the maimed; because he prophesieth hope of freedom to them that were in chains; to prisoners, liberty; plenty and fulness to the needy and hungry; light to them that sit in the shadow of death; bountiful fruitfulness to fields that were otherwise by nature barren, and, through want of tillage, overspread with briers and brambles, uncomely, yea, and filthy by reason of their desolation; to overflowing rivers, dryness and emptiness; to the Jews themselves extreme blindness.

Let the prophet Hosea be accounted a liar also, who prophesieth likewise that a people which was not a people, should be called, and obtain mercy, through the inestimable blessing of our heavenly jewel. Let Jonas the prophet be adjudged a liar also; yea, and that Elias likewise, who was advanced into heaven in the fiery chariot. The first of which two did prefigure Christ's glorious rising again the third day after his death; the other of his ineffable ascension into heaven, the fortieth day after his passion; also of the comfortable consolation and sending of the Holy Ghost, the fiftieth day, called Pentecost, by the letting down of the cloak from out his triumphant chariot. Besides all these, moreover, let John Baptist the prophet, yea more than a prophet, be condemned for a liar, who did not in word only acknowledge him, but, pointing towards him with his finger, pronounced boldly, that he was the very Lamb of God, that should take away the sins of the world. Finally, let all the whole authority of the prophetical scriptures be cancelled for untruth, because the greater part thereof doth nothing but foreshow and report, that all those things should come to pass, which the evangelical history expressly pronounces to be already accomplished.

Briefly, if as yet your eyes be withholden with so gross amazed obscurity, that the things which are more resplendent than the sun in mid-day, and so thoroughly known in all the parts of the world, do so far exceed the common capacity of your senses, and seem so incredible unto you, that ye can by no means comprehend them, nor will suffer so many notable testimonies of Christ's resurrection to prevail to work so much credit in your hearts, as that ye may believe in our Lord Jesus Christ risen from the dead as well as we—why do ye not produce then his buried carcase if you can? Or at the least bring forth some fragment of his precious body, be it ever so small. Or, if you think I demand an impossible request of you, how happeneth that none of all your progenitors could show the same? But if neither you, nor any of all your ancestors were able to do this, why do ye not then join together with us, and worship Him that is risen again? Why do ye not honour and magnify his name, who reigneth in eternity, sitting in the heavens at the right hand of God the Father? Whereunto, if love of religion cannot induce you, let natural reason yet obtain so far forth with you, to grant that which no reason can deny? Whereat make ye stay? Is not my request reasonable? Do I not give you wholesome counsel? Lest that I have spoken take no root in your hearts, I will for your better remembrance repeat again the words I have spoken.

If He, whom you have slain, be not the very Son of God; if ye believe verily, that he whom you deride and scorn at with that your reproachful and despiteful name Talui,* were but a very natural man, why do ye not therefore restore his dead body unto us? or, why did not your soldiers and hired watchmen yield his corpse again, for the guarding whereof they received so special a charge? If they cannot, what else importeth the grave being found empty? what else signified the horror and amazedness of your armed watchmen, who, being terrified with strangeness of fearful sights, fled away so timorously, but that ye may be enforced to confess this Christ Jesus to be the true Messias, who having entered upon the possession of the kingdom of David, as in the right of his own peculiar inheritance,

* Talui, in Hebrew, is as much as hanged or crucified. From the commencement of the usurpations of the church of Rome till after the Reformation, the personal treatment of the Jews was very severe, and the disputations between them and the christians were carried on with much bitterness. Luther complained much of the blasphemous language used by the Jews. Many of these are collected in Wagenseilii Tela Ignea Satanæ.

reigneth now in all eternity; and having vanquished all power of death, sitteth down triumphantly upon the throne of his father David, to order and establish his Father's kingdom, with judgment and justice from henceforth even for ever and ever? I would fain learn now, what your obstinate rebellion is able once to mutter against this? First, where no mistrust of peril is feared, there is no guard usually charged. And what suspicion of danger might your forefathers conceive of him after they had murdered him? Debate the matter with yourselves somewhat more substantially, why any such fear might grow concerning the dead body of this one simple person more than any other. But I will not urge you any more herein, only in this point I would fain be resolved; how happened it that the sepulchre, being so strongly covered with a stone of so huge weight, so firmly ensealed with the seal of the high priest, so straitly fenced with the force of armed knights, was so shortly found empty? You will say, that his disciples crept thither privily, and stole away the body of Jesus while your soldiers were in a deep and sound slumber. Well then. And who, I pray you, saw the disciples the mean time while your watchmen slept so soundly? If their eyelids were overladen with such a dead slumber that they could not perceive this, with what face shame you to affirm, that your watchmen saw them not? If they did see them, how chanced that being harnessed, they withstood not such simple unarmed wretches? And why did not your forefathers lay this theft to the disciples' charge, since they saw them daily preaching in the temple afterwards? Oh monstrous cankered liars! As though the stone wherewith it was covered, were not of greater quantity than could be removed by a few, or by any means might be rolled away without being perceived of your soldiers? Well yet, how happened that these seely captive petty thieves fled not away immediately after they had committed this robbery? How durst they be daily conversant amongst men, and preach openly in your temple? Nay, rather, to tell you the truth simply; with what better, or more probable argument could the world have been induced to believe that Christ was risen again, to the sure establishment of their faith, than this your wicked curious diligence, which your forefathers so carefully employed in watching the sepulchre?

Forasmuch therefore as all these things are so most assured, so manifest, so unreprovable, approved with so many witnesses and prophets; ratified with so many reasons and

evident proofs; discovered by the evident testimony, not only of angels, but established also with the heavenly oracle of the Holy Ghost himself; embraced and believed by the faith of all nations of the world; what one probability can all your generation of Hebrews allege for colour to the contrary? If ye perceive, therefore, that this is the very true Messias, why do ye not relent at the last, and forsake and abandon your stiffnecked rebellion, and join with us in profession? If as yet ye do not acknowledge him, declare the cause that breedeth this misliking in you, and troubleth your consciences. Is it because he lived in poor and beggarly estate amongst the impoverished, and them that were worth nothing? But your prophet Zechariah, long before he was revealed, reported that he should be even such a one; Behold, saith he, thy king cometh unto thee righteous and just, a Saviour, he is poor, and riding upon an ass, &c. Zech. ix. And it behoved truly that he which should come to overthrow the highminded and rich of this world, and to enrich the poor, should be himself embased and poor.

What else then? Is it because he was seen to walk in base and simple apparel, and was despised amongst you? Even such a one doth the prophet Isaiah paint out unto us in his fifty-third chapter. We beheld him, saith he, and he had neither form nor beauty; we held him despised, and esteemed him for an outcast of men. You have seen him now of no reputation, an abject, the poorest of men, whom your haughtiness did disdain. Mark now, under this vile and contemptible baseness, more than a kingly royalty, whereunto you ought all to prostrate yourselves, and do honour unto. Surely he hath borne our infirmities, and carried our sorrows: he was taken out of prison and from judgment, and who shall declare his age? By the knowledge of himself, my servant shall justify many, for he shall bear their iniquities. The will of the Lord shall prosper in his hands, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong. The kings shall shut their mouths at him. You have now therefore heard how that he should be poor and deformed, according to the outward show of the flesh, even such a one as our gospel hath described him. And briefly, to be plain, if he had not thus been poor and rejected from amongst you, he could not have been the right Messias indeed. Verily such a one he seemed to you once, when according to the outward countenance of the flesh, before

he had obtained the power of the kingdom upon the cross. But having then forthwith received the throne of his kingdom, in what triumphant majesty he sitteth and reigneth now in heaven, let the mystical psalmist David make report, who in spirit foresaw him sitting at the right hand of God. Let their witness be heard also, who beheld his ascension, and with their bodily eyes saw the same whom David beheld in spirit; even with their carnal eyes, I say, gazing upon him, whilst yet he was lifted up in their sight into heaven, and did perfectly discern him also sitting at the right hand of the Majesty. Let them also record the same, whose inward feeling and spiritual minds he doth enlighten with heavenly effectual operation, and vouchsafeth daily to impart himself unto. And I would to God it might please the same to open your eyes also, that once, at length, you might thoroughly enjoy the inestimable glory and unspeakable majesty of his everlasting kingdom. In the mean space ye may easily conceive a taste and feeling, as it were, of the truth, by groping the shadows and prefigured tokens of the scriptures, except ye had rather wilfully and wittingly shut fast your eyes from so manifest demonstration of infallible certainty.

First, what was of more royalty than the kingdom of David? But who was more entangled and straitened, while like a simple lad he kept his father's sheep? while he was tossed in turmoil with most cruel persecution? At what time Joseph, being circumvented by the injury of his brethren, was cast into a loathsome dungeon; when Abraham was commanded to abandon his native country, and to become a banished outcast from his kindred and his father's house; while Jacob was constrained to redouble his service under his uncle Laban; what time Moses was by God's calling translated from an exiled outlaw to be a guide and leader of the Israelites: from how great baseness and misery were all these advanced to wonderful estimation and dignity? And what was the meaning of the Holy Ghost else, than under the shadows and figures of those persons, to represent unto us the very pattern and image of the Son of God? And yet, if you duly consider the estate of Christ's outward baseness, what wanted he at any time to the necessary furniture of his livelihood, notwithstanding this show of extreme penury? Nay, what want at all could molest him, who with a very few crusts could feed so many thousands in a desert wilderness? Or how could he be

termed poor, at whose beck and word of mouth heaven and earth did obey, the seas and winds, life and death; finally, all the degrees of creation were subject unto?

But that writing and title called by the name of a Nazarite doth encumber you perhaps; because it behoved that Messias should be born in Bethlehem, the city of David. If he were not born in Bethlehem, I report me to the chronicles and records of the time of his birth, and the circumstances thereof. Let the testimonies of the angels, shepherds, wise men, his own mother, Joseph, and all the evangelists be examined. Moreover, what imported that horrible slaughter of all the babes of Bethlehem, only by the cruel proclamation of Herod, without any molestation of the infants of Nazareth; unless Herod the king had been thoroughly persuaded, that about that instant of time wherein Christ was born, the true king of the Jews was then born in the city of Bethlehem?

What else troubleth you? Because he died the death? What do I hear? What! have you always awaited for a Messias that could not be bereft of life? How then should this Messias deliver Jacob his people from their iniquities, when no remission of sins could be without slaughter and blood, according to the infallible testimonies, and continual sacrifices of your own law? Briefly, if it were not requisite that Messias should die the death, then did all the prophets speak falsely; Zechariah, Daniel, David, Isaiah, did lie; which have not only made mention of his death, but have most learnedly also set down the cause of his death. For thus we read in Daniel; That wickedness, saith he, may finish, and sins be sealed up, iniquity be reconciled, and everlasting righteousness may be brought in, Dan. ix. And, proceeding a little further in the same chapter, he doth expressly declare that Christ ought to be slain. In like manner the prophet Isaiah, ch. liii. If he shall make his soul an offering for sin, saith he. The very same thing doth Moses also prefigure unto us under certain ceremonies of sacrifices, types, and figures not altogether obscure. What say you to Isaiah the prophet, who doth not only discover the cause, but the manner also of his death, his scourgings, wounds, plagues, buffetings, and reproaches? What say you to Zechariah, who mentioneth the piercing of his side with a spear? What say you to David, who describeth the nailing of his hands and feet, the sponge full of vinegar, the rending his flesh from the bones, the casting lots for his

garment? What say you to Moses also, who, under the title of the brazen serpent doth prognosticate his lifting up on the cross?

But here again some froward person among you will murmur again—How can Christ be said in the scriptures to be everlasting, if he must of necessity be slain? This scruple no man can more effectually unloose than the prophet David in his mystical psalm; Thou shalt not leave my soul, saith he, in the grave, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption, Psalm xvi. Where you hear his soul laid in the grave, you must understand that to be spoken of his death and burial. Again, when you hear that he is risen again from his sepulchre, you must interpret the same of his infinite eternity, and imperishable freedom, exempt from all manner of corruption. Whereby appeareth notably discernible unto you, each condition in one self-same person; that is to say, that he is both a mortal man, and an eternal God. In the one whereof the infirmity of his manhood is palpable; in the other the glory of his resurrection is most evidently provable. What! and do ye expect yet another everlasting Messias besides this? What fantasy is this! As though when the true Messias is come, he may obtain any courteous entertainment amongst you! Truly none at all; for even so say the prophets of your own nation. Or else what meaneth that saying of David that ye read in the psalm, The stone which the builders refused, the same is made the head of the corner. And who are they that are called the builders, but even yourselves the Jews? What is this stone, but Messias? whom if ye will gape after until you find yourselves pliable to embrace and honour him, it will come to pass that your long lingering will be prolonged beyond all compass of time; because, according to the saying of your own prophets, you will never dutifully allow of the coming of the true Messias, but ye will continually remain in an uncertain expectation of some other. For if he be accepted by the general consent of you all without exception, surely he cannot possibly be the true Messias. Again, if he be refused from amongst you, how long will you hang in suspense of his coming?

Even in like manner your forefathers did look for a Messias to come, long before the birth of Christ, almost two thousand years; but after that he was come indeed, and that the Lord of lords whom they sought, was entered into his temple, and the Angel of the promised testament,

whom they wished for, was amidst them, yet did not his own receive him. And why so? because they judged that he would come after another sort than the prophets had foretold. For the prophets described his coming to be poor, simple, and beggarly; but these lusty gallants gazed for a certain trim earthly emperor, awaited upon with some famous troop of princely guard. The prophets did promise a meek lamb, whose voice should not be heard to bleat in the streets. These courageous champions look for some lion and victorious monarch. They did foreshow that he should be slain, tormented, and hanged on tree, who should not avenge him of the injuries of his people with displayed banner of bloody battle, but with shedding of his own precious blood, should redeem the sins and wicked transgressions of his people; should not with violence rush upon the crown of the empire, nor with force of arms deliver his people from the thraldom of Cæsar; but should restore freedom to his nation from the bondage of sin, and the tyranny of death and the devil, with all the potentates and principalities thereof; and so establish to himself a kingdom, not transitory and earthly in this world, but heavenly, and endless for ever and ever. On the contrary part, these fellows, flattering themselves with a fantastical opinion of worldly pomp, and measuring all things according to the glorious glittering show of some terrestrial dominion, do yet fondly believe that some other puissant and victorious conqueror shall come in some notably advanced manner. Whereupon, being worthily deluded of their own frivolous fond expectation, they can neither truly acknowledge their own heavenly Messias, nor did accept of him when he was come. Neither was it any marvel if they could not find in their hearts to entertain him, being in this beggarly plight; when their own prophets did long before pronounce, that the Messias should be persecuted with no enemies so savage and unmerciful, as the people of his own lineage; and did also, under most manifest oracles, and apparent vails of shadowish signs, prognosticate that he should be slain through the treacherous treason of his own people.

After the same sort was the blood of Abel spilt by the embrued hand of his bloody brother Cain, Gen. iv. Joseph entrapped and sold by the sinister practice and procurement of his brother Judah, Gen. xxxvii. The lamb of the passover slain and devoured piecemeal in the houses of them

which were delivered by the blood of the same, Exod. xii. So was Moses oftentimes contemptuously entreated and disdainfully railed upon amongst his own kinsfolks, Exod. xxxii. King David cruelly assaulted, not of Saul only, but, which is more horrible, of the folk of his own family, of his neighbours, citizens, and subjects. What else doth the several calamities of all these purport, than that the Messias should be slain by the butchery of his own people? What doth the stone of offence, mentioned in Isaiah, and that rock to fall upon to both houses of Israel, and as a snare and a net to the inhabitants of Jerusalem signify, other than that the Lord himself should suffer death by the murderous practice of his own nation? Otherwise, why is he called a rock to fall upon, and stone of offence, if there were nothing in him whereon the adversaries might stumble?

And to pass over other sharp and horrible prophecies uttered directly against this viperous generation by the mouth of their own prophets, Deut. xxxi. so likewise Isaiah lxv. lxvi. and many others besides of their own prophets, peruse who listeth the books of Malachi and Zechariah with diligence and heedfulness. What doth Zechariah else in all that his preaching almost, than explain the order and manner of Christ's passion, yea, and that so lively, that scarce any portion seemeth overskipped, that may not seem to appertain to the sum and argument of all that whole tragedy? Not their King himself riding upon an ass, not the breaking of the bow of battle, and preaching peace unto the Gentiles; not the loosing of prisoners out of the pit wherein was no water—whose outstretched power extendeth from sea to sea, from the floods to the uttermost parts of the earth, raising up the children of Israel above the children of Greece. Not the thirty silverlings of the traitor Judas, for the which he sold Christ; not the wounds of his pierced body; not the print of the nails in his hands and feet; not the scattering of the disciples, the shepherd being stricken; not the city severed into three factions, whereof the third part only remained sound and served the Lord, yet so that the same was brought to trial by fire; not the destruction of Jerusalem by the assault of the Gentiles; not the overthrow and subversion of their houses; not the breaking in sunder the veil of the temple under the figure of the mount Olivet; not the darkened eclipse of the sun the same day in the which Christ suffered his passion. And there shall be a day, saith he, it is well known to the Lord, neither day

nor night, but about the evening time it shall be light. And it shall come to pass in the same day, that the waters of life shall go out from Jerusalem, and the half of them toward the east sea, and half of them towards the uttermost sea, and shall be both in winter and summer, Zech. xiv. And immediately in the same chapter, prophesying of our Saviour Jesus Christ hanging upon the cross; And that which shall be there above the bridles of the horses, shall be called holy unto the Lord; and the pots in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar, &c.

What answer will you make now to these so notable and manifest testimonies? And whereupon dependeth the hope of that you look for? or in what points doth it chiefly consist? Will you flee back again to your rotten worm-eaten posies? "We are the seed of Abraham, and were never subject to any other; well we may wander, but we can never perish. The holy patriarchs are our progenitors; we are the issue of a holy root; we have a God in whom we do believe; we have the law wherein we are instructed; the temple, the priesthood, the sacrifices, and ceremonies are committed to our safe keeping. We have also prophets, and promises of the prophets, wherein we put our confidence." Nay, rather, you were once invested in all these, but now, through your traitorous treachery, you are bereft and despoiled of them all. You had some time Abraham unto your father, upon whom you so gloriously vaunt yourselves. Even so had Esau, Ishmael, and Saul, also as well as ye. And even this selfsame so noble a personage whom you account for your father, if he were present now in these our days, or had lived then also when Christ was conversant upon earth, and had seen all those your frantic outrages, and traitorous devices, conceived of such despiteful rancour and cankered malice; if he had beheld your reproachful taunts, contumelious mockeries, and furious madness, your execrable injuries and horrible tyrannies, provoked by no desert of his; your unquenchable malicious cruelty, in deriding, scorning, and murdering that most mild Son of God, Christ Jesus, the most puissant and mighty Lord of glory, having in all respects so bountifully deserved of you; and had been present at that unspeakable mad outrage and exclamation, when ye cried out, "Crucify him, crucify him: his blood be upon us and our children: we have none other king but Cæsar." Moreover, if he had seen your unappeasable disorder, without any remorse of

mercy in persecuting his disciples; your intolerable scorpion-like savageness so furiously boiling against the innocent infants of the christian Gentiles; and the rest of your heinous abominations, insatiable butcheries, treasons, frenzies, and madness. If, I say, this most godly and mild patriarch, Abraham, were alive, to hear and behold the same, with the same eyes wherewith long since he beheld the day of Christ Jesus, and rejoiced, would he ever have accounted you for his sons? or ever have acknowledged such children to have proceeded out of his loins? Nay, rather, who can doubt that he would have agreed with John Baptist rather, and cried with open mouth against you, O ye generation of vipers and children of the devil, I do utterly detest you, and your poisoned deeds and imaginations.

But ye do believe in God, whom only you do worship and honour; so do the Turks, Saracens, Moors, and Scythians, as well as ye. And where is there any one nation under the cope of heaven, that doth not profess, confess, and worship one God only?* And what is this to the purpose? Albeit ye esteem ever so much of that your worshipping the great God, if yet in mean whiles ye persecute his messengers and ambassadors whom he sendeth, if you kill his prophets, if ye murder his apostles, martyrs, and preachers; finally, if you put to the most slanderous death of the cross the dear entirely beloved and only begotten Son of God himself, being tormented with all kinds of horrible tortures, to the unspeakable reproach of the same your own God; with what shameless visage can you brag that God to be your Father, whose Son you have so shamefully crucified? Yea, what were this to the purpose, or what might it avail you to persuade yourselves that the same God is your Father, if he do not acknowledge you for his children? Take this for an undoubted truth, that no kind of people can be adjudged to be the people of the living God, but in respect of his dear Son Christ Jesus. Which if you cannot comprehend as yet, what mean those words of Hosea, I beseech you, and of whom were they spoken? For ye are not my people, therefore will I not be your God. And it shall come to pass in the place where it was said unto them, You are not my people, it shall be said unto them, You are the sons of the living God. You do persist still obstinately in your opinion of God's law; and quite contrary to the law of God, without all law, equity, and conscience,

* One supreme God.

hanged and racked upon tree the very same person of whom the whole law did prophesy before, notwithstanding so many strange and wonderful miracles wrought by him, so many brotherly benefits employed upon you; yea, finding also no manner of cause worthy of death in him. You do vaunt yourselves of the circumcision, and your uncircumcised hearts overflow with spiderlike poison. You brag of keeping the sabbath day whiles you take your bodily repast only: but the right use of the sabbath of the Lord is to have a quiet mind, free from all jar of envy and malice. This sabbath you do profane continually, but then chiefly most wickedly, when ye murdered the Lord himself, neither seem as yet satisfied therewith, nor will ye relent any jot at all from your cankered contumacy. You profess in words the letter of the law, but utterly disclaim the spiritual meaning of the law in your deeds. You cry out, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord; and yet you abhor the church of Christ, being the true temple of the Lord. You challenge to yourselves a wonderful haughty prerogative of the blood offerings, of the priesthood, of the sacrifice and ceremonies of the law, which indeed carry a certain outward resemblance of true religion.

But these outward shadows and ceremonies had their time and place long ago, and were not instituted to the end they should continue irrevocable, but for a season, to represent as it were a superficial view unto us of more excellent things. Even as the kingly throne of David, and all that politic government of the Israelites did prefigure nothing else unto us, but the everlasting kingdom of Christ, and were as certain principles, wherewith the minds of the beholders might be raised up to a more deep consideration of far higher mysteries; insomuch that the very same which was but figured in king David, we plainly perceive to have been expressly discovered in the King of the new Jerusalem, which is the church of Christ. The same which was prefigured in Abel, in Noah, in Abraham, Melchisedec, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Samson, David, Elias, Jonas, Joshua the high priest, in the paschal lamb, in the brazen serpent, in the rock, in manna, in the feast of Pentecost. Briefly, whatsoever exercises were practised in shadows, types, and figures, we do unfeignedly acknowledge to have met, concurred, and been accomplished in one body. And this body truly is Christ Jesus, who is also the end and

consummation of all the whole law. In like manner the sacrifices and ceremonies, trimmings and deckings of the old law, contained in themselves no sound or permanent matter, but were shadows and forerunners of more excellent graces. For what is he so purblind in this our age, that knoweth not that God doth not dwell in temples made by men's hands? that consciences are not cleansed from sins with the blood of goats or of bulls? But these bloody offerings obtained a certain resemblance only of the true cleansing of sins. What doth the commandment of the prophet imply, when in your passover he charged a lamb of a year old, clean and undefiled, to be slain, by families and tribes? Can you think, that so great and effectual operation lurketh in the blood of beasts, as may avail to deliver you from cruel thraldom, and translate you to the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, if there were no kernel of deeper mystery inclosed in the outward shell of the letter?

It remaineth now that we treat of the promises of the prophets, whereupon you boast so much, and raise all your building, which only thing of all others doth unjoint and shiver in pieces all the strong bulwarks of your unbelief, even to the very bottom of the foundation. And to the end I may make this appear more evidently, I will combat with you in your own castle, whereunto I will use none other but your own weapons, I mean the very words and known sentences of your own prophets. And I will so deal with you in this conflict by the aid and assistance of God, as not heaping together out of all the prophets in general, for that were unmeasurable; but I will choose rather to surcharge certain especial testimonies, the which will so batter the bulwarks of your unbelief, that you shall not be able by any means possible, to delude the matter with cavilling, nor to escape by denial, nor with any subtle legerdemain of literal exposition to cast a mist before mine eyes, nor untwine yourselves out of the mesh by any crooked conveyance, as you are wont to do, but either you shall willingly come to reason, or else against your wills be confounded altogether with the manifest light of the truth.

And to begin first with the prophet Isaiah. What answer can all the offspring of the Hebrews make to these written in the ninth chapter of his prophecy? For the yoke of their burden, and the staff of their shoulder, and the rod of their oppressor hast thou broken, as in the day of Midian.

You have heard a very honourable promise of the prophet, wherein he pronounceth a wonderful triumphant victory to all them that walk in the night of darkness, and in the shadow of death; prophesying likewise, that it will come to pass, that the chains of cruel captivity being burst asunder, and the yoke of servile bondage being crushed in pieces, they shall at length enjoy most happy calm of gladsome freedom. Well then; to whom was this promise made? To the Jews alone? Is he not also the God of the Gentiles? Then by what means shall this victory be obtained? By any foreign power or warlike combat? No: the prophet doth utterly deny that, pronouncing these words forthwith; Because every spoil, saith he, of the warrior that is with noise, and with tumbling of garments in blood, shall be abolished with burning and consuming fire, even as in the victory that Gideon obtained against the Midianites, the conquest was achieved by the only hand of God and the presence of Gideon, man's force and power little availing thereunto. The prophet, by like comparison, persuadeth us to believe that this victory and freedom must be purchased by the only blessing of God, and not by any force or policy of man; and that this blessing of God is sufficiently effectual of itself, without force of bloody battle, to establish assured and undoubted peace and everlasting freedom to all creatures.

Go ye to now, let me demand this of you, when, and from whence this so great blessedness shall happen? The prophet himself maketh answer, By the birth of a child, saith he, and by giving a Son unto us; For unto us a child is born, saith he, and unto us a Son is given, and the judgment is upon his shoulders, &c. Such is the excellent dignity of the Son, so great is the majesty of his nature proceeding from so notable a Father, that he needeth none other aid in the world, to the attainment of absolute perfection of most blessed felicity. For what can be a more excellent effectual operation to the thorough cleansing away of all filthy contagion of corrupt nature, or more presently available to remove all brabble and contention, than to receive the very Son of God himself into the fellowship of this our mortal nature, being a prince of so great and superexcellent majesty, as that he may not seem to be born an inheritor of a kingdom to rule as a king, but that the kingdom may seem rather to spring up and be erected together with his birth? For so he saith, The government is

laid upon his shoulders: not purchased by any his industry or travail, but laid upon his back, even from his first entry into this world, and growing up together with him. And the same being so great an authority or principality raised up above the compass of all earthly empires, by how much he obtained to be advanced and called by a more excellent title and name above all the princes of the world. And now if you be desirous to know the name of this famous prince, the prophet himself will forthwith declare unto you; His name, saith he, shall be called Wonderful, a Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. The increase of his government and peace shall have none end, &c. Where you see mention made of the kingdom of peace and patience, you may easily discern, not a kingdom only, but a distinct manner of kingly pre-eminence, far unlike to an earthly or worldly government. Now hearken where the place and nation is, over which this king must exercise his dominion: He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order and establish it with judgment and with justice. Behold here, under these titles, with judgment and justice, is excluded all bloody tyranny. And now listen to the perpetuity of this kingdom. From henceforth, saith he, even for ever and ever.

Was ever man so froward of judgment, as to wrest and rack this place of the prophet, of releasing the yoke of the burdens, of breaking the rod of the oppressor, to any other purpose appliable, (though he endeavour to the contrary ever so much,) than to the very coming of Christ Jesus, the Son of God, in whom we do believe, who was sent of God the Father, and given unto us for an everlasting King? For where is it possible to find a king issuing from out so notable a parentage, and of so undefiled life, who, by dying the death could crush in pieces the tyranny of death, and after he had tasted the death, could of his own power revive, and raise himself up to the glorious majesty of the everlasting kingdom, this one Messias only except, before whom all nations of the earth do and shall bow the knee? Well now: and what buzzing will those talmud-glossers keep in the gloss, or what exposition will they fetch out of their targuma?* Will they refer this intolerable yoke of thraldom unto their servitude endured in the time of Sennacherib? He would indeed have charged the shoulders of the Jews with this yoke of burden, and rod of oppressor,

* The Jewish glosses or interpretations of scripture.

but he never pinched them so much therewith. Will they interpret the same of the captivity of Babylon? Neither will this hang together by any means. For albeit it pleased that mighty king of Babylon, Cyrus, of his bountiful mercy, to grant free passage to the Israelites to return into their own country; yet was not he able to unloose this prophetical yoke, and establish a peace that could never be dissolved, for he was not only a mere stranger, but also void of all colour to claim the throne of his father David, by any manner of descent from him.

Moreover, whereas the prophet Isaiah doth note here especially, the utter taking away of all occasions of warlike fury from amongst worldly men, and of restoring a kingdom of peace, and the same also to be endurable beyond all ages; who doth not see that by no shift of forged circumstance, these sayings may be translated to your fleshly bondage, since yourselves also, which do believe and expect for an end of this brittle life, and rising again at the last day, as well as we, neither will nor can deny, but that all manner of things in this world, either private or public, must have an end. Then if this be true, how dare ye mortal men flatter yourselves with a possession of an immortal kingdom in this world? For that which is immortal is not limited within any compass of time. Again, by what argument can ye persuade, that the thing which is everlasting may have a last day and determined end of time? Forasmuch, therefore, as this kingdom of Messias and David is pronounced by the mouth of the prophets to be an everlasting throne, and the peace thereof without all end; you must of necessity yield unto us, that this peace appertaineth not to the external tranquillity of this earthly and terrestrial policy, but to the quiet, calm, and peaceable rest of inward conscience and soul, in the sight of almighty God, which peace began then to appear when this Child was born, of whom the angels of heaven did certify the shepherds in their melodious song; Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, and unto men a good will. Otherwise, how will this reason of yours agree in itself, or accord with the prophets? For if you await as yet for the coming of some warlike courageous champion, who, having subdued the empire of the Gentiles, may with fire and sword force a recovery of your country, what shall become of this burning and devouring with fire, all warlike force and tumbling of garments in blood? Where is that

Messias of whom Isaiah maketh mention, which shall proclaim peace, not war, to the Gentiles? Where is that Prince whose voice shall not be heard to make a noise in the streets? Where is he that shall not bruise the broken rod, and shall convert the weapons of steel into ashes? On the other side, if ye await for a peaceable king, such a one as the prophets do describe, what conquest then shall there be of Gentiles and nations? Ponder these things in your minds well and advisedly, and see how these matters, being contrary and repugnant each to other, may be framed to agree together.

There are an infinite number of the like prophecies in Isaiah concerning the Messias that should be slain for the sins of the people, and rejected of you; of his long lasting seed and unspeakable generation, (liii.) of the casting away of your whole race and engraffing the Gentiles in your place, (lxv.) of blinding the eyes of them that did see, (vi.) of the book delivered to the ignorant and unlettered, (xxxv.) of healing the blind and the lame, (xliii.) of ostriches and dragons glorifying God, (xliii.) of floods to be translated into the wilderness, (xxxv.) of the salvation of God to be proclaimed from Sion to the uttermost parts of the world; of the small portion of the Jews that shall be saved. Finally, of the rooting out of your nation, together with the exchange of your name also. And you shall leave your name, saith he, as a curse unto my chosen; for the Lord shall slay you, and call his servants by another name. And again, My servants shall drink, and you shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall rejoice, and you shall be ashamed. I am not very inquisitive here to learn, with what juggling, after your wonted guise and determined malice, ye will corrupt and deprave those places, as ye do all others for the most part. Nay, rather I will give you full scope to wreath and wrest them with whatsoever crabbed cavillations ye can suggest, and after whatsoever sensual interpretation ye can devise; yet shall ye never prevail so far forth against the manifest truth, but that it shall be able to stop your mouth, and convince you, considering that the very orderly course of natural causes, will not permit these sayings to be tossed and tumbled elsewhere, than into the person of Christ Jesus whom you have crucified.

I will pass over Isaiah, after I have cited one only place; Comfort ye, comfort yourselves, my people, will your Lord

God say. Speak comfortably to Jerusalem and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, and her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received at the Lord's hands double for her sins, &c. (xl.) What is this to us? will ye say. I will tell you, if you will vouchsafe to yield your diligent consideration thereunto, and compare the same with the rest that doth ensue in the prophet. A voice, saith he, crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a path for your God, &c. What can be more clear than the brightness of this prophecy? what sentence more manifest? what consolation more fruitful? Wherein, as many things seem worthy to be remembered, so three things chiefly are to be noted therein. Namely, the sins and wickedness of the people, in the first place. The wrath and vengeance of Almighty God, in the second place. In the third and last place, a most sweet and comfortable consolation, after many bitter and grievous punishments. In the part that treateth of sins, the obstinate and unvanquishable rebellion of the Jews against God and his laws. In the second part, where the wrath of God is spoken of, the justice of God may be discerned, which will not suffer the wickedness of his people to escape long unpunished. The comfortable consolation proceedeth wholly from his loving kindness and gracious mercy, whereupon the trump of those sweet and amiable promises is hearkened unto; wherewith the sovereign bounty of God qualifying the fretting corrosive of his former displeasure, with mild and medicinable salve, makes an infallible covenant with them, that after they have once passed over many vexations, adversities, and straits, wherewith they were long time turmoiled and vexed, they should from henceforth never feel so sharp a scourge in revenging their sins. And hereof cometh this most delicate voice full of all spiritual comfort, which the Lord himself pronounceth here by the mouth of his prophet, speaking comfortably to Jerusalem. Thy warfare is accomplished, and thine iniquities are pardoned, for thou hast received at the Lord's hands double for thy sins, (xl.) As if this were the natural sense and meaning of the words; Whereas I have hitherto showed myself a severe judge against you, in scourging your ungodliness with cruel plagues, this did I, even according to the desert of your own deeds. In your miserable and continual calamity, in your manifold bondage and captivity that you

have endured, first under the Egyptians, then under the Syrians, and lastly under king Herod the stranger, you have felt the smart of God's justice. But now, it hath pleased the Lord to alter his determination against you, not to whet the edge of his rigorous vengeance any more to your destruction; not to deliver you as vassals and bond-slaves to your enemies, but, interchanging mercy for wrath, to embrace you with all lenity, and make an end of your sorrows and warfare; so that from henceforth you shall not need to fear any more invasion of cruel enemies, any leading away into direful captivity, any dreadful punishment of your heinous impiety. For the time shall come when the Lord will no more reward your iniquities with horrible scourges and plagues, but of his inestimable clemency shall couch you within the blessings of his bottomless mercy. And if you should be desirous to know the time wherein these glad tidings shall be performed amongst you, take this for a sign and token whereby you may discern the time, whereof I do foretell you. A voice shall be heard crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a path for your God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, &c. And the voice proceeding yet forward, and demanding what he should cry, Say unto the cities of Judah, saith he, Behold your God, behold the Lord God will come with power, and his arm shall rule for him, and his reward is with him, &c. When the sound of this trump out of the huge desert wilderness shall pierce into your ears, and be seen with your eyes, this shall be a sign for you to know, that He is not far from the gates that shall redeem you from your captivity.

I have disclosed unto you the meaning and sense of the prophet, if I be not deceived; wherein two especial notes are to be considered; namely, the punishment of sin, and the voice of a crier in the wilderness. Both which notes who doth not easily perceive to have been accomplished in the persons of Christ Jesus and of John Baptist? Yea, and so accomplished in them, as no gap nor starting hole may possibly be found for you to escape, but that this place must be of necessity applied to Christ our anointed King and Saviour. For what else imported the voice of John Baptist crying in the wilderness, but to prepare a way ready for the coming of the Lord? And what hath the whole doctrine of the new testament taught, and daily doth

teach, but everlasting forgiveness of sins, in the manner of a continual vacation from the term of the law? For as long as the law and God's justice did combat against sins, the warfare could never be broken up; but the enemy being once subdued, and the dominion of the law brought into captivity, our warfare must needs be at an end. For as soon as the sinner begins to be no longer under the law but under grace, nor findeth any adversary to withstand him, but hath caught the victory into his own hands once, what remaineth but he may joyously triumph and keep holiday, being now delivered from all fear of further controlment.

Next unto Isaiah let us annex the testimony of Jeremiah, who, after he had prophesied much of the return of the Jews from the captivity of Babylon, doth encourage them again at the last with this kind of consolation; that from thenceforth they should never be carried from their own country into bondage again, speaking thus; And I will gather the remnant of my sheep out of all countries whither I shall drive them, and will bring them again to their folds, and they shall grow and increase. And I will raise up shepherds over them which shall feed them; and they shall dread no more to be afraid, nor shall any of them be lacking, saith the Lord, (xxiii.) And immediately after, Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell in safety; and this is the name whereby they shall call him, The Lord our Righteousness, &c. And again, Like as these good figs, so will I know them that are carried away captive out of Judah to be good, whom I have sent out of this place into the land of the Chaldeans. For I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again into this land, and I will build them and not destroy them, and I will plant them, and not root them out, &c. And again, (xxxi.) Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the world, with the blind and the lame amongst them, with the woman with child, and her that is delivered also; a great company shall return hither. And they shall come and rejoice in the height of Sion, and their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall hunger no more; for I will forgive their iniquities

and will remember their sins no more. And the seed of Israel shall not cease from being a nation before me for ever. And the places shall be built, and shall be all holy unto the Lord, neither shall they be plucked up nor destroyed any more for ever. And again, (xxxii.) Thus hath the Lord God of Israel spoken concerning the city, whereof you say, It shall be delivered into the hand of the king of Babel, by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence. Behold, I will gather them out of all countries, wherein I have scattered them in mine anger, and will bring them again into this place, and will cause them to dwell in safety. And they shall be my people, and I will be their God. And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever. And proceeding forward in the chapter ensuing; Because the people of Jerusalem did not submit themselves unto the Chaldees, but resisted them with force; therefore were their bulwarks filled with dead bodies. But, behold, I will give it health and amendment, and I will cure them, and will reveal unto them abundance of peace and truth. And there shall be heard in this place of which you say that it shall be desolate, even in the streets of Jerusalem, that are desolate and without any inhabitant, there shall be the voice of joy and gladness. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good thing which I have promised unto the house of Israel, and to the house of Judah. In those days I will cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Israel shall dwell in safety; and this shall they call her, The Lord is our righteousness. For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel. Neither shall the priests and Levites want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to do sacrifice continually. And afterwards, again, in the fiftieth chapter, Thus saith the God of Israel, Behold I will visit the king of Babel, and his land, as I have visited the king of Asshur. And I will bring Israel again to his habitation, he shall be fed, and his soul shall be satisfied in his due time, saith the Lord. In those days shall the iniquity of Israel be sought for, and there shall be none; and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found; for I will be merciful unto them whom I do reserve, &c.

What can be of more efficacy than the testimonies of the

aforesaid scriptures? In which, forasmuch as two things are set down chiefly to be noted, ye must yield to the one of them of very necessity; either that this kingdom of Israel shall never decay again after their return from the Babylonian captivity; which being construed after the literal sense is most false, as you may plainly perceive; or else that the kingdom of Israel is overthrown and to have an end, and so then the prophets to lie, which is most absurd. Whereby appeareth most evidently that all those sayings wherein the prophets have foretold of the royalty of David's throne, and of the everlasting glory thereof, must have a certain mystical and spiritual interpretation. For you are not ignorant yourselves of that which happened to that fleshly and worldly state of this kingdom, and in how narrow straits and extremities it was forced, when your city was besieged and razed by the Romans, your temple consumed with fire, and all things in the city devoured and ransacked, even to the rooting out of almost all your nation. So that the circumstances of the times being duly weighed, will plainly convince you that these promises, made touching the perpetual establishment of the kingdom of David, must be far otherwise understood, and that yourselves either declare that which is false in the order of your exposition, or else that your own prophets did prophesy contrary to the truth. Since, therefore, one of these two must of necessity be granted, choose which you will, or else discover some way how you may escape out of this labyrinth.

First, I suppose no man will condemn the prophets for liars, for they delivered nothing but that which by wonderful inspiration they received of the Holy Ghost; yea, the same also is infallibly true, as is approved from time to time by the circumstances, and sequel of the time. For they foresaw, as truth was, being informed by the Holy Ghost, first the delivery of the remnant of that nation in the transmigration of Babylon, and it came to pass; they foresaw also that this captivity should endure no less than seventy years, this also came to pass. Finally, they foresaw that, after the full expiration of this exile and banishment, a Prince should come, and a Son should be given in the fulness of time, which should possess the throne of his father David, and take upon him the government of the kingdom, and should establish the same in a permanent and imperishable course of continuance, peace, and tranquillity for ever. And this also was performed, even then,

accordingly, when the Son of God was born in the city of David; that wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the Prince of peace; who albeit he died once according to the flesh, and seemed to be vanquished, yet was he not holden of death above three days, but survived of his own power, and liveth for ever and ever; and in dying hath obtained an endless conquest of death, and triumphed now (not much unlike unto Samson) victoriously over death, hath rent in sunder the iron gates of sin, hath crushed the tyranny of the devil in pieces, and purchased everlasting life for his elect, not perishable by any assault of haughty adversary, nor vanquishable by any power of worldly policy. For in that the city was sacked by the army of the Romans, the temple burnt and razed to the ground, all this nothing at all diminishes the credit of the prophet, touching the establishment of the glory of that throne, but rather confirms and argues it to be of much more estimation. The rebel Jews and traitorous murderers of Christ were overcome in battle: but Christ, himself Prince of that kingdom, with his church, could not be brought under subjection, neither shall at any time, but hath conquered, liveth and triumpheth daily. And although you cannot yet conceive this invincible majesty of that everlasting king, yet your prophets saw it, yea, your father Abraham saw it and rejoiced. Isaiah saw it, witnessing the same with an oath, The Lord hath sworn by his right hand, and by the strength of his arm, Surely I will no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies, and surely the sons of the strangers shall not drink the wine for the which thou hast laboured; but they that have gathered it shall eat thereof, and shall praise the Lord. And the gatherers shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary, &c. Isaiah lxii.

Again, the same Isaiah, speaking unto Jerusalem as though she were prisoner in Babylon, Whereas thou hast been forsaken, so that no man went by thee, I will make thee an eternal glory and a joy from generation to generation, &c. Isaiah lx. Moreover, For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee for a little season, but with everlasting mercy have I had compassion upon thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as in the waters of Noah, to whom as I have sworn, that I would no more go over the earth with waters, so have I sworn that I would no more be angry with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and the hills shall fall

down, but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee, (liv.) And again in another place, Go ye out of Babel, flee from the Chaldeans, with the voice of joy, tell and declare this, show it forth to the ends of the earth; say ye, the Lord hath redeemed his servant Jacob, Isa. xlviii. And within a little after, It is a small thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the desolation of Israel; I will give thee also for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the world. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palm of my hand; thy walls are ever in my sight. Thy builders make haste, thy destroyers and they that made thee waste, are departed from thee, &c. Isa. xlix.

Neither did Isaiah see these things alone; the other prophets, patriarchs, and holy ones also did wait for the royal excellency of this kingdom, before it was come. The angels signified out of heaven that he was presently come, his miraculous works do ratify the same, his rising again at the feast of Easter confirmeth it, yea, the devils themselves felt it, and did tremble for fear. The holy company of apostles and martyrs do confess it; all tongues and nations do speak of his glory, bow the knees and worship him. Finally, the Holy Ghost, through wonderful secret operation, doth daily and hourly enlarge and enseal the infallible assurance thereof in the hearts of the faithful. Lastly, you also, even you that are Jews, albeit as yet it be not revealed unto you, shall know and acknowledge it once at the length. I trust, the inestimable treasure and incomparable riches of this kingdom, the invincible everlasting power of this King, who shall break and overthrow all other kingdoms of the world, and shall not possibly be destroyed itself, neither shall have any end, Dan. ii.

But as this greatness of power is not carnal nor can be discerned with carnal eyes, so doth it not wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons. The conquest of this Prince doth extend itself with a far more outstretched unmeasurableness, it creepeth not along the ground like a worm, but pierceth the height of the heavens; it doth not provoke men to bloody battle, but assaulteth the prince of this world, even the devil himself; and being advanced into heaven, hath thrown headlong out of heaven the ancient arch enemy and accuser of mankind, yea, and hath

slain him with the sword of his majesty; hath removed away wrath, hath blotted out the curse of the law, hath cured the canker of sin, hath trodden death under his feet, hath taken into his own government the power of all judgment, insomuch that the prophet Isaiah seemeth astonied, amazedly wondering at the marvellous course of his incomprehensible power; who having vanquished incomparable enemies, doth likewise impart unto his faithful servants very rich spoils, not transitory and soon vanishing away, but enduring beyond all ages. Will ye yet hear more concerning the power of this mighty Monarch? Listen then awhile to the testimony of the Verity itself in the gospel, This is the will of my Father that sent me, that every man which seeth the Son and believeth on him, shall have everlasting life, John vi. What can be more princely than this? And I will raise him up at the last day. What can be of more power? For as the Father hath life in himself, so likewise hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, and to give life unto him unto whom he will, and hath given him power also to execute judgment. What can be more heavenly? Neither doth the Father judge any man, but hath given all the judgment unto the Son, John v. What can be more admirable? Unto whom all power is given in heaven and in earth, Matt. xxviii. What can be required more? Moreover, that ye may be assured that the Son of man is of power to forgive sins upon earth, behold a sign wrought upon the sick of the palsy, Take up thy bed and walk, Matt. ix. Again; As the living Father hath sent me, even so do I send you, John vi. whosesoever sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven them, John xx. Besides all this, let us hear what Peter speaketh of him, Acts x. To him, saith he, all the prophets do give witness, that through his name all that believe in him shall receive remission of sins. What can be more marvellous? When the Son of man shall be exalted, I will draw all things unto myself, John xii. What can be more glorious?

Let us adjoin herewith the testimony of St. Paul; Who hath reconciled all things in heaven and in earth; who undertook in his own person all the hatred and enmity between God and man; who with a look of his countenance relieveth the afflicted consciences, humbled even to hell gates. Who doth refresh and comfort them with his Spirit, healeth with a word of his mouth, looseth them that are fettered with the chains of sin, dischargeth

from all fear of judgment and death, acquitteth from the tyranny of the devil. What may be comparable to the majesty of this empire? and withal what can be more amiable than the same majesty, at the naming of whom all knees in heaven, earth, and hell do fall prostrate, and worship? Yea, the devils themselves do tremble and quake for fear, the dead arise again, maladies are healed, prisoners are loosed, the hungry are filled, the oppressed with labour are refreshed and disburdened, mourners, and such as pine away with sorrow and anguish are recomforted, death is subdued, tears are wiped away, sorrow and sadness are turned into mirth and gladness, interchange is made from the lowest to the highest; mountains are thrown down, hidden things are discovered, rough and crabbed things are made plain and straight, the first become the last, and the last are made the first.

All which heavenly graces, albeit you miserable Hebrews will not acknowledge, and most disdainfully do blaspheme in your synagogues the Angel of the everlasting testament, having regard to that part of him only wherein he seemeth weak, according to the outer appearance and dispensation of the flesh by reason of his death and burial; yet we, for our part, beholding his heavenly divinity, inseparably united together with the baseness of his humanity; and comparing his miraculous life, death, and resurrection, yea, the whole course and actions of his life, with the reports of the prophets, and being established in faith with infallible testimonies of the sacred scriptures, instructed hereunto by the guiding of the Holy Ghost, persuaded by the assured promises of the prophets, and casting anchorhold in the assured haven of his wonderful miracles; do firmly believe, and with unshaken faith confess, that this is the very same Messias whom you do yet expect and look for. Finally, reposing all our trust and affiance upon his mighty power, guarded with the invincible protection of so great majesty, we do with valiant forwardness of mind, raise up the undaunted courage of our hearts, against all assaults and battery of the world, against all storms of fretting adversity, that now neither the raging railing of your blasphemous mouth, nor fearful delusions of wily Satan; not the dreadful sight of hell gates, nor the tyrannous threatenings thereof; not the grizly countenance of ghastful death, be it ever so terrible, nor the cruel curse and continual accusation of the law, (which is more horrible than all the rest,)—

can in any respect appal or terrify our settled consciences. For why should that person tremble or be amazed with the threatenings of the law, whose Lord and Master, Christ Jesus, is Judge, and ruler over the law? Why should he dread death, or the devil himself, the procurer of death, or all the furious champions of the devil, for the safety of whose life, and assured raising from death to life, the very Son of God, Christ Jesus, is become surety and pledge? Who, sitting at the right hand of the Father, doth keep the keys of death and hell, and therewith alone shutteth, and no man openeth, setteth wide open, and no man shutteth, restraining and disposing all things in heaven and earth with only a look of his countenance.

And hereof ariseth that wonderful constancy of our martyrs and apostles, in yielding their bodies to tortures and death; hereof springeth that invincible force of christian faith; hereupon is grounded that impenetrable rock of Christ's church, which being so oft undermined by your subtle pioneers, circumvented with so many traitorous sleights and devices, vexed with so many furious outrages of Gentiles and Jews, attempted with so many cruel cramps of the prince of darkness, assaulted with all kinds of torments and persecutions, could, notwithstanding, never hitherto be discomfited with any kind of battery, or shaken with engine, neither shall be overthrown at any time, while the world doth endure. The unvanquishable continuance whereof if you would but indifferently, without all partiality, ponder in your hearts, what else doth it argue than an heavenly and unspeakable power of her Captain, Christ Jesus? But as the power of this captain is spiritual, so it is not discernible but by spiritual insight, raised up, as I said before, not to strive against mankind, but to subdue the tyranny of Satan, the mighty prince of this world, and to despoil and force him out of his kingdom. And this may every sensible man easily conceive, if he will enter into somewhat of a more deep consideration of his miraculous works; so that this marvellous victory of this triumphant Conqueror, can by no argument and proof appear more manifestly, than even in this one overthrow of that ancient arch enemy. For, if that conquest be so much the more praiseworthy, by how much the force of the vanquished is more notorious, what ought we then to judge of Him, who only and alone, undertaking the challenge, not against man's power, but in the behalf and defence of man.

kind rather against all those mighty and invisible adversaries of mankind, unvanquishable otherwise by any policy of men, against all those spiritual furies and incessant accusers of mankind before the throne of God, against all those princes and potentates, and rulers of darkness, against the poisoned darts of death, against the intolerable burden of sin, against the dreadful curse of the law, and wrath of God's vengeance, against the force and gates of hell, was able by his only prowess to tread down and triumph over them all, without all aid and help of man. Yea, and which is most to be marvelled at, without all strength, without all sleight and policy of resistance, far unlike the warlike attempts and martial affairs; where it cometh always to pass, that the most notable and famous enterprises are never achieved without large troops of courageous soldiers, or subtle practices of politic governors. For here, beyond all reach of man's understanding, miraculously, this marvellous victory was obtained without force of arms, industry and policy, through the only plain and open conduct of simple truth. For what simplicity can be greater than to yield to the will of the adversary in humility and patience? And what could be more void of hope to recovery? And yet, by this means it came to pass, that pompous pride, through humility, was brought into subjection; glory of riches confounded by baseness of poverty; haughty arrogancy of the world suppressed with humble infirmity; the curse of the law razed out by undefiled innocency; sins forgiven; the mouth of the enemy stopped up through meek taciturnity; victory obtained by yielding; finally, death vanquished by dying, and life everlasting purchased.

And yet, to confess the truth frankly and simply, this glorious conquest wanted not singular ability and skilful policy, being nevertheless both heavenly, holy, and achieved by upright justice; not to the end to betray in snares, or seduce any good man from the right path of truth, but to entrap that crafty enemy the devil only; and that not without great cause. For what could be more agreeable with reason, than that the same old wily serpent, which had beguiled mankind first with subtlety and lies, should be encountered again with a certain heavenly policy, yet void of all colour of lying; and so being entrapped and entangled with sleights and deceits of his own forge, should be caught in his own pitfall, and bereft of his place? What

could be more fitting than to strangle the most horrible deceiver with his own halter, and by most just law to disfranchise the most unjust intruder from his unjust possession?

Wherefore go to, what sayest thou now, Satan, thou cursed imaginer and practiser of all mischief? allege somewhat at length if thou canst, what sayest thou? Dost not thou see that all thy practices are discovered through that heavenly light? Dost thou not feel infirmity of the flesh, treading now upon thine own head, whiles thou wast devising mischief against infirmity of weak flesh? Thou hadst swallowed down a bait, but art enforced to cast the same out again. Thou didst await for the destruction of mankind, but withal didst accelerate his safety. Thou didst enforce the innocent to the death of the cross, such was thy malice, or such rather was thy folly. Thou didst undermine the Son of God, wherein albeit thou didst scarce pinch him, yet hast thou slain thyself thereby, and blessed us for ever. For thou hast not fastened him upon the cross alone, but nailed all our sins also together with him, which being now thoroughly cleansed with that only sacrifice, he hath delivered us from everlasting torments, and recoiled them back upon thine own head, unrecoverable for evermore. The brazen serpent might have been a good precedent unto thee, to have made thee more wary and advised, which if it had not been hanged on a tree, could not have healed the wounds of them that were plagued. The valiant Samson, being a type and figure of our Lord Jesus, might have forewarned thee; and that mystical immaculate Lamb, above all the rest, the slaying of the which was no less dreadful to the enemy, than comfortable to the godly. Neither happeneth it otherwise to thee and thine at this present. Thou didst endeavour to establish thine empire, and art despoiled of thine empire. What! wast thou ignorant that He whom thou didst assail was the Son of God? Why then didst thou confess him so to be? And if thou knowest it, with what shameless impudence couldst thou attempt such execrable impiety?

But peradventure he seemed weak in thine eye, being clad with poor beggarly baseness of the flesh; and thy meaning perhaps was to try whether he could be slain, and therefore thou didst rush upon him so sternly, and murder him so horribly. Well, and why didst thou not hold him fast, when thou hadst slain him? How was it that he slipped out of thy power? And, being escaped, whither went

he from thee? And where doth he now remain? O cruel cursed manqueller, dost thou not perceive into what straits thy blood-thirstiness hath driven thee at the last? Dost thou not acknowledge this? that the very same tree and that cross of contumely, which by the ministry of thy champions, thou gavest to him for food, is turned into thy poison, and for us into the bread of life? Dost thou not remember how that famous and solemn feast day, wherein he did triumph over death, when he spoiled principalities and powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in his own person, wherein thou thyself, with thy mates, didst rejoice by the space of two days, was erected to us for a perpetual monument of eternal joy and freedom? At the very naming whereof, the whole rabble of thy adherents do tremble and quake for fear. Dost not thou acknowledge, now at the length, the glorious name that was given him above all names, the power whereof thou dost feel to thy great grief; and whereunto all the furies of hell, confederates of thy malice, are compelled to yield in despite of their teeth? Doth not this victorious Conqueror, by contrary interchange of times, tread down thy cowardice deservedly, as saying thus, Death, where is thy sting? Death, where is thy victory? And what availeth thee, being altogether vanquished and brought into thraldom, to kick against the Conqueror, inciting and provoking the pharisees and kings of the Gentiles so furiously to rage against the godly martyrs? Go to; and what hast thou won by their imprisonments, chains, stoning to death, scourgings, tormentings by fiery inflamed plates, tortures and rackings, burning, broilings and scorchings, by all kinds of horror and cruelty, and by so many their slaughters? I will tell thee. Thou hast confirmed the faith of Christ! thou hast established and enlarged the kingdom of Christ, and hast heaped upon thyself and upon thy brood double torments of unquenchable flames! And herein we are somewhat beholden to thee, for that through this deadly madness, it cometh to pass, that, throughout the whole world, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is magnified and renowned, and also because thou ceasest not to lie in wait against his heel daily as yet. But He that is in heaven doth scorn at thy malicious devices, he derideth thy subtle sleights who hath skill to convert thy despite and outrage to the benefit of his elect, and to the glorious increase of their eternal felicity.

But I return to the prophets again, out of every one of whom I do not propose to set down all that they write touching my purpose; but I will give a few special sentences to fit our present matter: that ye shall neither be able with shift or cavillation whatsoever to delude the manifest proofs concerning Christ Jesus our Lord, unless you disclaim wholly from your own prophets; nor yet shall you allow of your prophets, unless you do admit withal our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amongst whom, because I will not be long, to omit the notable prophecies of Ezekiel, very much available to this our discourse, wherein he foretelleth of the return of the dispersed Jews, from Babylon to their own city, and the second building up of their temple, which from thenceforth should stand unshaken, and never perish any more, nor be molested by any invasion of the enemy. For even to that effect doth the prophet treat very largely, chapter xxviii. saying, And they shall dwell in their land with all security, and they shall build houses, and shall plant vineyards, and shall inhabit the land confidently, when I shall execute judgment against all them that shall stand against them round about them, &c. And again in chapter xxxiv. thus he saith; And they shall be safe in their land, and they shall no more be spoiled of the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them, but they shall dwell confidently, and none shall make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a plant of renown. And they shall no more be consumed with hunger in the land, neither bear the reproach of the heathen any more, &c. And in his thirty-sixth chapter, speaking to the mountains of Israel. And I will bring my people again, saith he, unto them: and you shall be their inheritance, and they shall possess you. Thou shalt not waste thy people from henceforth. And I will cause no more to hear in thee the shame of the heathen any way, neither shalt thou bear the reproach of the people any more, &c. And, in the next chapter, And they shall be no more two people, neither be divided any more from henceforth into kingdoms; neither shall they be polluted any more with their idols, nor with any of their transgressions. But they shall dwell upon their land themselves, even their sons, and their sons' sons for ever. And my servant David shall be their prince for ever. And I will make a covenant of peace with them, it shall be an everlasting covenant with them. And I will multiply them, and will place my sanctuary among them

for evermore. And a little before; And I will call for corn, and I will increase it, and lay no famine upon you, &c. Now considering and conferring with this, the great famine that not long after ensued, the city being besieged by the Romans, when mothers through famine slew their suckling babes, yea, and the city besides were almost starved and pined up with hunger, I cannot see how that saying can be verified, unless you understand it as having relation to the spiritual kingdom of Israel, and not to the carnal.

But to pass over these, we will proceed to others. And first let us consider the place taken out of the ninth chapter of Daniel's prophecy, because it fitteth this purpose more notably than any other; where the heavenly prophet doth in few words comprehend the whole estate of your commonweal, from your return out of the Babylonian captivity, even to the uttermost point of your desolation, describing withal in the same chapter the death of the Messias, the end and consummation of sin, together with the utter abolishment of the observances and sacrifices of the ceremonial law, by such special marks and tokens so evidently, that it can by no means possible be gainsaid.

Wherefore let us ponder the words of the prophet, with no less diligence than the matter requireth. For in this wise the angel Gabriel calleth upon Daniel, whiles he was praying, and speaketh the words ensuing. At the beginning of thy supplications, saith he, the commandment came forth; and I am come to show thee, for thou art greatly beloved. Therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are shortened, or determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the wickedness, and to seal up the sins, and to reconcile the iniquity, and to bring in the righteousness of the world to come, (or everlasting,) and to seal up the vision, and the prophet, (or prophecy,) and to anoint the most holy, (or the holiness of the sanctified.) And thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to bring again the people, and to build Jerusalem, unto Messias the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. And the streets, and the wall, (or trenches,) shall be built again in the straits of times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messias be slain, (anointed,) and shall have nothing (shall be bereft of life.) And the people of the prince that shall come (be coming) shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary, and the end thereof

shall be in (with) a flood; and to the end of the battle the desolation shall be determined (the end of desolations.) And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week shall cause to rest (cease) the sacrifice and oblation (Minha.) And upon the wing (or as some say, for the overspreading) of the abominations, there shall be desolation, (he shall make it desolate,) even until the consummation determined (determined desolation) shall be poured upon the desolate.

The same after the common (Vulgate) translation.

Seventy weeks shall be shortened upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, that wickedness may be finished, and sin may take an end, and iniquity wiped out, and everlasting righteousness may be brought in, and the vision and prophecy may be fulfilled, and the Holy of holy ones may be anointed. Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment, that Jerusalem shall be builded again, even to Christ the Prince, seven weeks and threescore and two weeks shall be. And the streets shall be builded again, and the walls in straitness of times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Christ be slain, and that shall not be his people which will deny him. And the people with the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end shall be destruction, and after the end of the war determined desolation. But he shall confirm his covenant to many in one week, and in the midst of the week the offering and sacrifice shall cease, and there shall be in the temple abomination of desolation, and even to the consummation and end shall the desolation continue.

Munster's translation.

Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy hill, to finish wickedness and seal up sins, and to cleanse iniquity, and to bring in the righteousness of the worlds, to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the Holy of holy ones. And thou shalt know and consider from the going out of the commandment for the repairing and building again of Jerusalem unto Messias the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; but the street shall be restored and builded again, and the trench, but in straits of times. And after threescore and two weeks shall the anointed be cut off, and nothing shall be of him. And the people of the prince coming, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be in overflowing, and to the end of the battle determined desolation. And he shall make strong a covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week, he shall make to cease the sacrifice and the offering Minha. And for the overspreading of abominations shall be desolation, and to the consummation and determined banishment shall be poured upon (the people) which is subject to desolation.

The translation of Pagninus and Vatablus.

Seventy weeks are cut off upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish wickedness, to consume sin, and to purge iniquity, and to bring in the righteousness of the world, and to finish the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the Holy of the holy. Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment, for the bringing back of the people, and the building of Jerusalem, unto Christ the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks, and he shall come again, and the street and the wall shall be builded again in the straits of times. But after threescore and two

weeks, Christ shall be cut off, and there shall be none (to help him,) and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and sanctuary, and the end thereof with a flood, and to the end of the battle it shall be cut off with desolations. And he shall strengthen a covenant with many for one week ; and in the midst of the week he shall cause to cease the sacrifice and oblation, and for the overspreading of abomination, he shall make desolate until the consummation, and (truly) being cut off, shall be poured upon the wonderer.

Calvin's translation.

Seventy weeks are finished upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to shut up wickedness, and to seal up sin, and to purge iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint the Holy of holy ones. Thou shalt therefore know and understand, from the going out of the commandment of the return and building again of Jerusalem, unto Christ the Prince, to be threescore and two weeks, and (the people) shall be brought again. And the street and the wall shall be builded again, and that in the straits of times. And after threescore and two weeks, Christ shall be cut off, and shall be nothing. And the people of the Prince coming, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood. And to the end of the battle determination of desolations. And he shall strengthen a covenant with many for a week, and in the midst of the week, he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to rest, and over the destruction or overspreading shall be amazed (or cause to be amazed,) and at the end and determination shall pour out upon the amazed.

Melancthon's translation.

Seventy weeks are cut off upon thy people and upon thy holy city. And iniquity shall be purged, and everlasting righteousness shall come. And the prophecy and the vision shall be sealed, and the Holy of holy ones shall be anointed. And thou shalt know and understand from the going forth of the commandment, and the restoring and building again of Jerusalem unto Christ the Prince in seven weeks, and in seventy-two weeks. And the street and wall shall be builded again in the straits of times. And after threescore and two weeks Christ shall be cut off, and there shall be no people for him. And the people of the Prince coming, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. And the end thereof shall be a flood. And to the end of the battle may be finished, as though an appointed desolation or banishment. And he shall confirm a covenant, even as a testament to many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease. And upon the wing, the abomination of desolation, and unto the determined consummation shall pour out upon the desolation. And upon the wing shall be abomination of desolation.

Urban Rhegius, differing very little from the common (Vulgate) translation, hath written as ensueth.

Seventy weeks are shortened (or finished, determined) upon thy people and upon thy holy city, that wickedness may be finished, (or, transgression shall be restrained or driven away,) and sin may come to an end, (or sin then shall be put up or covered,) and iniquity wiped away, (or purged,) and everlasting righteousness brought in, and the vision or prophecy may be fulfilled, (or ensealed,) and the Holy of holy ones may be anointed. Know, therefore, and understand, from the going forth of the commandment, (that is to say, from the time wherein the commandment was published,) that Jerusalem shall be builded again, even to Christ the Prince are seven weeks, and

threescore and two weeks, and the streets and the wall shall be builded again in the straits of times. And after threescore and two weeks Christ shall be slain, and that shall not be his people which will deny him, (or that will not know him, or will forsake him.) And the people of the Prince shall come and shall scatter abroad the city and the sanctuary, (destroy,) and the end thereof destruction, (or the end thereof with a tempest, or with a flood,) and after the end of the battle appointed desolation, (or after the battle all shall remain desolate,) he shall confirm a covenant with many in one week, and in the half of the week the offering and the sacrifice shall decay, and in the temple shall be abomination of desolation, (or upon the wing or wings shall stand the abomination of desolation.) And even unto the end and consummation shall desolation continue, (or it is decreed that the desolation shall continue even unto the end.)

Ye men and Hebrews, you hear in this prophecy many strange and wonderful things, which do convince your errors very singularly. First, where he saith that your Messias shall come while your commonwealth flourisheth in most prosperous estate. If this be true, what hope induces you to believe that your Messias shall come now, your commonwealth being utterly defaced and scattered? Then, mention is made of the benefits of your Messias, wherein is foreshowed that he shall be slain, yea, the time also wherein he shall be slain, is expressly set down. And after threescore and two weeks, Messias shall be cut off.*

And first herein the Jews do agree together with us, that these weeks are not to be numbered by limitation of days, but of years. Wherefore these threescore and two weeks spoken of by the prophet are by computation accounted to amount to 436 years. After the end of which threescore and two weeks, Messiah shall establish his covenant by his doctrine, death, and resurrection in the other week next ensuing. In the half whereof he shall, by his own only sacrifice and oblation, wherein he shall offer himself to God the Father in his cross and passion, dissolve and utterly abolish all your sacrifices and offerings.

But here arise in the mean space many scruples to be resolved; first, to know at what time those weeks took their beginning, and so also when they ended. For herein the learned expositors seem to be variable in judgment. Some are of opinion that the beginning of the weeks entered first, when the seventy years of their captivity were finished. That is to say, from the second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspes. And of this mind are Clement of Alexandria, Theodoret, Eusebius, Jerome, and Augustine,

* Veein lo. That is to say in short speech of Hebrew, And his life shall be taken from him.—*Marginal note.*

grounding as it seemeth upon the words of Zechariah, in the first chapter of his prophecy.

Again, many do deny this utterly, supposing that the weeks began first at the going forth of the commandment. That is to say, when proclamation was made by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, that the Jews should be released and sent home into their country. In like manner they do vary also, about the end and finishing of the said weeks. For some that reckon the beginning of the weeks from the first of Cyrus's reign, describe the end of the same to be the time of Christ's birth in the reign of Augustus, emperor of Rome. Some others draw them longer, to the baptism and passion of Christ. Others also, accounting from Darius, begin at the second year of his reign, many at the sixth, some others at the twentieth year thereof. Some writers make their reckoning otherwise. Besides this scruple, many seem to be encumbered much about the intricate and confused computation of the years and reigns of the kings which succeeded Cyrus, and continued until the coming of Alexander, which chiefly above all the rest, entangles the account by reason of the uncertain limitation of those times. There is also no less disagreement in the order and observation of the years betwixt them, which number from the reign of Cyrus; amongst whom, those which apply to the birth of Christ, recount the number of years to be 540; some reckon 501; some otherwise, either more or less. Finally, albeit the most approved writers do verify that fourteen Persian kings, or at the least thirteen, succeeded each other in the kingdom of Persia until the conquest of Alexander, yet the Jews make account of four only. But they, being unacquainted altogether with foreign governments, are to be rejected utterly as unmeet arbiters of this controversy.

Some are of opinion that Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon, reigned twenty years, others seven years only. Some report that betwixt Cyrus and Darius the Assyrian, only Cambyses reigned, and that by the space of twenty years. There are others that, making no mention of Cambyses at all, place betwixt Cyrus and Darius one named Assuerus, and unto him they allow twenty years of holding the kingdom likewise. So great is the variety of opinion also concerning the continuance of the Persian empire, yea, even amongst the learned; while some do attribute

to that government under the Persian kings 130 years; others 198; some make their calculations otherwise.*

But as concerning the succession of the Persian kings, many of our writers suppose that the temple began to be builded at Jerusalem in the reign of Longimanus, who, as they say, was the fourth after Cyrus in succession, which fourth place Jerome ascribeth to Darius, and drives this Longimanus to be the seventh in number after Cyrus. Briefly, there is no one thing among the historiographers that moveth more doubtful matter of controversy, as well among the Grecians as the Latinists. Wherein as it would seem troublesome to recite the names of all the authors that write of this matter, so would it be over tedious to recount all their several opinions and reasons alleged thereunto. Neither will I take upon me to determine any certainty in this confused variety, nor do I think it necessary, since this our later age hath raised up many learned men, who, by comparing of the ancient chronicles, have left to posterity commendable testimonies of their studious industry; who albeit express no small disagreement in some certain points, yet receiving much light from the ancient chronicles, seem to approach somewhat near the mark.

Philip Melancthon, as in all liberal sciences singularly studied, so through wonderful travail in the careful conference of histories, achieving a more ripe and sound judgment, sets down a double order of reckoning; in the one whereof he numbers the weeks to begin in the reign of Cyrus, and so until the birth of Christ; in the other he takes the original of the weeks in the time of Longimanus, and so proceeds unto the time of Christ's death and resurrection, yielding herein to the judgment of the learned, to make their choice, which of them they approve. But John Calvin seems to allow neither of them, induced as it seems with this reason, that the beginning of the computation ought not to enter in the reign of Longimanus, nor the end thereof to be determined at the birth of Christ, as he supposes; which truly is well noted by John Calvin, according to the singular dexterity of his learning and capacity.

For, as it behoved these weeks to comprehend the fulness of time, from the free manumission of the captives to the last cleansing of sins, which should come to pass by the only oblation of Messias our Saviour; it is out of all

* See Note, p. 393.

question that neither the reign of Cyrus is exempted from this abatement of weeks, namely, since the prophet (Isaiah xlv.) notes Cyrus by especial name to be the only deliverer of the people from their captivity; neither those weeks could be finished before the whole exploit of our redemption were of all parts accomplished. And therefore John Calvin doth not without some probability dissent from those who derive the entry of the said weeks from the second year of Darius's reign only. So would I likewise contentedly yield to his judgment therein, if he had made a full and distinct computation of all the mean process of time, which passed over betwixt the going forth of the commandment from Cyrus to the passion of Christ, according to the true and just proportion of the weeks. But forasmuch as those years which were betwixt the going forth of the commandment and the passion of Christ, being duly accounted, do amount above 530 years, as appears by collation of chronicles; therefore some doubt also may be made here, how Calvin's reckoning may be applicable to this account. For resolution whereof, Matthew Beroald, in his chronological demonstration, will help us somewhat; who beginning his number at the reign of Cyrus also, proceeding onward until the ascension of Christ, reduces those years which were accountable, to the seventy weeks mentioned in Daniel, namely, to 490 years, or to ten jubilees, agreeing with Calvin's reckoning. The same also doth Gerardus Mercator, a very late writer, testify, if credit may be given to their report.

But what answer will those men make on the other side to the other historiographers? To Constantine Phrygio, who numbers the years from the reign of Cyrus unto the passion of Christ 544? To John Lucidas and John Functius, whereof the one far otherwise measuring the weeks after the death of Cyrus from the twentieth year of Darius, the other from the seventh year of his reign, recount the same to be 490. And to pass over others, Theodorus Bibliander also seems to be of like opinion to them that make account of more years betwixt the reign of Cyrus and the blessed passion of Christ, than are recorded by Beroald and others. But whether this computation be right, yea or nay, I am not to determine at this present.

Well then, may some man say, what certainty can be agreed upon in this so great contrariety and disagreement of opinions? For the discharge of this subtle question, I

do answer in few words. First, the infallible testimony of God's truth doth not depend upon man's determination; howsoever men be carried hither and thither in conceit, and their opinions, like clocks whirled about upon wheels, that never sound in one and the same minute of time, yet doth not the day alter his appointed course; no more will the certainty of God's promise be any time unsteadfast or deceivable. And albeit ancient chroniclers sometimes wander in precise and exact observation of minutes, and small moments of days, or years, or utter their several judgments therein, according to their several capacities, yet this contrariety withstands not so much but there may be a general consent in the substance of the matter debated; nor is this to be marvelled at considering the great antiquity of foreworn years, and the unmeasurable blindness and ignorance in the same. So also, how variable soever the opinions of many seem discrepant each from other, yet this contrariety, as it is not altogether void of truth, so it does not much prejudice the cause which is here in controversy. For whether the account of seventy weeks are derived from the reign of Cyrus, as some will have it; or from Darius, as others think; to continue until the nativity of Christ, or to his death and passion: or, whether the same were the Assyrian Darius, or Longimanus, in the sixth year of whose government the building of the temple was resumed and finished; yet in this one point, all and every the historiographers, as well ancient as late writers, with one general consent do conclude and agree together that these seventy weeks cannot by any application be ascribed to any other person than to Christ Jesus, the true Messias, even the same Messias which was born of the virgin, in the time of Augustus the emperor, and was afterwards crucified under Pontius Pilate, and which was restored again to life the third day after his death.*

And thus much touching the diversity of judgment in the computation of the learned; who notwithstanding differ not so much in the state and ground of the question; only the controversy ariseth upon the application of the time, as whether the account of the weeks ought to be referred to the birth of Christ, or to his passion. But what is this to the purpose? This groundwork remains yet unshaken, and ratified by most approved testimony of general consent, which appertaineth chiefly to the sentence

* See p. 390, at the end of this tract.

of the prophet, and the material part of his prophecy; namely, that no one sentence throughout the whole scriptures, more manifestly convinces your error touching your Messias, and more substantially establishes our faith, than this one testimony of the prophet Daniel, wherein the mystery of the seventy weeks most manifestly is here determined upon that nation and people of yours. The which same weeks the angel, gathering again together, divides into three several distinct orders. The first order comprehendeth seven weeks; the second threescore and two weeks; the third one week only, which was the last, and the seventieth in number. In which last week he signifies that it should come to pass, that the Holy of holy ones should be anointed, slain, and make an end of sin and sin offerings appointed in the law of Moses; which things being accomplished and the full number of years completed and finished, the city afterwards should come to utter ruin and destruction. And because the prophet should the better conceive the true disposition and distinct proportion of times in which those things should be brought to pass, the angel doth, as it were leading by the hand, instruct him by this divided partition of weeks; as if this were the purport of the prophecy; " Forsomuch, O Daniel, greatly beloved of God, as thou art so careful and zealous for the estate and safety of thy people, it pleased Almighty God to hear thee, even in the beginning of thy prayers, and withal to impart his heavenly will unto thee, by me his messenger, sent to this effect, to make thee understand the things that appertain to thy nation, and the whole estate of that kingdom. For the Lord hath so decreed by his secret determination, that this people, being now in captivity, shall return again into their native country, and the city and sanctuary shall be restored, and advanced to its ancient dignity and estimation. And if, after the restitution and establishment thereof, thou wilt further inquire of the continuance and durance of the same, and withal what great enterprises and manifold successes shall happen herein, understand thou; that seventy weeks are concluded and determined upon this people, which being recounted by the sabbaths of years, or reduced into ten jubilees, will make the number of seven times seventy, to wit, 490 years. For so many years fully shall that commonwealth prosper, until wickedness be finished, all curse

of sin be removed, all sin offerings abolished, and everlasting righteousness be brought in, and all things be accomplished whatsoever were foretold by the prophets and visions; finally, until the Holy of holy ones be anointed.

For, as the administration of that commonwealth was erected at the first for Messias his sake, it could not be that kingdom should utterly be abolished before the same Messias was manifested in the flesh.

I have somewhat declared unto you concerning the seventy weeks. For the better perceiving of the orderly proceedings and interchanged successes whereof, a threefold distinction of times ought severally to be considered. Namely, seven weeks, then threescore and two weeks, and one week. In the first seven weeks, all that intercourse of time is comprehended, that must grow betwixt the laying the foundation of the second temple and building thereof, until the full finishing of the same. For so many years are accounted from the first year of Cyrus's reign unto the seventh or eighth year of Darius, before the building of the temple was thoroughly performed; which will amount to forty-nine years. Again, the threescore and two weeks do note unto us the remnant of the time, wherein Messias the Lord should be born in the city of David, after that the city and temple were repaired and built again; which building was completed in the thirty-second year of the reign of Darius the Assyrian, or Artaxerxes. Now that other one week which remained, signifies unto us the anointing, preaching, revealing, and suffering of the same Messias; and of those other things which were to ensue after his death. In the middle part of which week shall Messias be slain; three years and a half after his baptism and anointing; by which death he shall accomplish the mystery of man's redemption, whereof the prophets did so often prophesy and prognosticate long time before.

The residue of the week appertains to the preaching of the apostles, to the calling of the Gentiles, to the establishing of the covenant with many, to the abolishing of the old circumcision, and external sacrifices, and the ceremonial law; to the confirmation of free remission of sins, and to the performance of the promise of rising again, and life everlasting. All which were of all parts completed, and ended in the last week; that is to say, in those seven latter

years wherein the Messias shall be anointed, slain, rise from death to life, ascend up into heaven, endue his church with the inestimable benefits of the Holy Ghost, and allure the Gentiles to the free mercy pronounced by his gospel; which week being added to the former, will make the just number of seventy weeks, that is 490 years. For so many years did the merciful God of Israel, of his unspeakable bounty, preserve that nation in peaceable tranquillity, not for any their deservings, but for his dear Son's sake only, who was to issue out of that seed and generation.

It remains now that we make a proportionable comparison of the number of those years with the records of the continual proceedings and successes thereof. First, this is a matter confessed, that the delivery of the Jews from their captivity was by the proclamation of Cyrus, the first year of his reign, at what time the foundation of the temple was laid, which, being hindered with sundry interruptions, was yet at the last brought to full perfection in the sixth or seventh year of Darius's reign. The temple being thus perfected in all its furniture, commission was given at length to Nehemiah, in the twentieth year of the reign of the same Darius, with absolute authority to repair their city again. The same year, in the 25th day of the month Elul, the wall was erected and finished; the whole doing whereof lasted fifty-two days only, as Nehemiah reports in his sixth chapter. But houses were not builded as yet, as appears in the seventh chapter, for accomplishment whereof were allowed twelve years more, as appeareth plainly in the fifth chapter of Nehemiah, where he himself says, From the twentieth year even to the thirty-second year of king Artaxerxes, that is twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor, &c. So that it is evident that while the city was building, so many years passed over. For so we read that Nehemiah gave his promise to return to the king and queen as soon as the work was finished.

Thus much touching the ninth chapter of Daniel; neither is this all that Daniel reporteth of the Messias, for besides this, many other of his prophecies do foreshow, and as it were directly lead us by the hand to the kingdom of Messias, yea, to the very distinct time thereof. As is that of the stone, which being hewn out of a great hill without man's hands, smote the image that represented the

four monarchies of the world and brake his head, his breast, his legs, and his feet, in pieces, so that no place was found for them, but the stone itself became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

But what is the purport of all these things? And first, what is meant by the stone hewn down without hands, and falling from a great hill? What by that striking and breaking the image in pieces? By that huge mountain? by that exceeding increase of the stone into an unmeasurable quantity; the incredible greatness whereof, overthrowing all other kingdoms of the earth, should possess the whole world besides? Whereunto tend all these? what do they import? what do they represent unto us else, than the same which we perceive most plainly was accomplished in the Son of God? Who descending from the highest heavens, and born of a virgin; who alone coming into the world after a miracle, did vanquish all power and pomp of the world and the devil, by holding his peace only; who brake the gates of hell in sunder with suffering only; overcame death with dying only, and purchased thereby an everlasting kingdom of perpetual felicity for his chosen and elect, which kingdom shall endure in unmovable eternity, above and beyond all other kingdoms and empires of the world. For all other empires, standing in most fickle estate, by interchange of elder years wax transitory and vanish away, and with mutual enmity pursue each other to utter destruction. This only kingdom, raised up without hands by the eternal God, cannot be shivered with any violence, nor wax old with any process of time, nor be subdued by any force or policy of man, but with its unperishable perpetuity shall crush in pieces, and wear out all other kingdoms, and itself persist nevertheless unvanquishable, for ever and ever. And this so incomprehensible majesty of this kingdom, the prophet does not in one place alone prophesy should come, nor does he promise it only, but discovers also the very minute and instant of time wherein this kingdom should flourish; so that the commendation wherewith your Josephus so highly advances this prophet, is not unaptly applied, namely, that he doth not only foreshow the events and successes of times, as other prophets do, but with a most plain view, as it were, points with the finger to the time itself, in which all these things should come that should ensue.

I could vouch out of the same Daniel sundry sentences,

many also out of other prophets to the like effect; for what else doth the whole prophetical history of the bible, even from the beginning to the end thereof, describe unto us, than Christ Jesus and his kingdom, very base and simple in the eye and judgment of carnal capacity, but to the spiritual beholders most beautiful and glorious? What doth the delivery of Jonas out of the whale's belly on the third day prefigure unto us other than the resurrection of Christ? What doth the translating of Elias into heaven, in a fiery chariot, signify, other than the ascension of Christ? What doth that brazen serpent foreshow other than Christ crucified upon the cross? What do the manifold afflictions of king David represent, but the continual persecution of Christ in this world? What doth Moses signify, but a deliverer? Joshua, but the victorious conquest of Christ over all his enemies? What doth the rule and government of Joseph, with a certain royal majesty over the Egyptians, imply, but the kingdom of Messias, at whose beck all things in earth and heaven should be obedient and subject? It would require a long discourse to overrun all the mystical sayings of the prophets. I will add hereunto one or two places out of the prophet Malachi.

Malachi being of one mind and judgment that Daniel and our Paul were of, not only foretells the casting away of your nation, but also renders the reason that procured God's wrath against your people. For Malachi and Daniel both agree in this point, that the utter destruction of that nation was decreed by the secret counsel of God, to the end they should become a precedent, whereby the wicked might be forewarned of the severe justice of God; as also for this cause chiefly, by reason that else the vain persuasion, that hath taken root so long in the hearts of the people, touching the righteousness of the law, touching circumcision, peace offerings, and sacrifices, could not be razed out of their minds, if the ceremonial law should continue in her former authority. And therefore it pleased Almighty God to make manifest to all men that those external rites, shadows, and ceremonies, were not available to procure true righteousness; and that the righteousness of the law was not that pure righteousness whereunto the promises did direct them. But let us hear the words of Malachi; I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept offering at your hands; for from the rising of the sun, until the going down

of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles. And in every place shall a pure offering be offered in my name; for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts, Malachi i.

Amongst many things worthy to be noted in this saying of the prophet, there are three special observations to be considered; namely, the one concerning you that are Jews; secondly, concerning your sacrifices; lastly, the place itself where the offering shall be made. For the Lord had promised that he would alter and renew every of these, to the end he might thereby despoil you of all matter to glory upon; as upon your parentage, your worshippings, yea, your temple itself, your offerings, and sacrifices. And why? Because he had determined to make an innovation of them, as ye do hear, and to translate them from you to others. Which the same Holy Ghost doth manifestly set down in another place in like words, by his prophet Isaiah, Behold, saith he, I will create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind, Isa. lxv. And again in another place, And the Lord shall kill thee, and shall call his servants by another name, &c. The words are somewhat unlike, but the sense is all one, nothing differing from the saying of Malachi, I have no pleasure in you, &c. Dost thou not perceive in these words, how thou shalt be cast away, thou proud generation? And because you shall know that God will nevertheless not be destitute of a people that shall glorify his name, though you are clean hewn off from the olive tree; My name, saith he, is great among the Gentiles.

I have declared unto you what shall become of your nation and people. Now will I proceed to explain unto you of your temple and place of prayer, whereupon you vaunt yourselves so much. The prophet therefore goeth forward; In all places shall pure offerings be offered unto my name, from the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same. As if God would say, You Jews are so addicted to that only sanctuary and temple of the Lord, which he did erect amongst you long ago, as though he ought not be worshipped in any place else, and as though no nation in the whole earth might offer sacrifice unto the Lord except you alone. And under colour of this prerogative, being puffed up with pride, you swell with unmeasurable vainglorious persuasion of fleshly courage, and set

all other nations at naught, as though you alone were the only inheritance of the Lord, and as though you held him fast tied to your generation, with an inseparable chain of privileged bounty and favour, and so fast locked within the walls of your temple, that he could not be of power to depart from you, nor would for any cause sequester himself from your temple.* But to the end your senses may no longer be in darkness, flattering yourselves with vain and counterfeit confidence of falsely conceived opinion, I will, by way of friendly advertisement, pronounce, and even now do denounce and forewarn you, that the calling upon the name of the Lord is not inseparably bound to place, time, or persons; but that the largesse† of his mercy is extended also upon all people, nations, and tongues; whether Jews or Gentiles, Scythians or Indians; and that this his loving kindness wherewith he embraceth all mankind, will reject no person from his fatherly protection. Wheresoever his name is feared, and his majesty worshipped, there he doth indifferently distribute the gifts of his grace towards all persons without partiality. Yea, and because you shall understand my saying more plainly, behold, I do protest unto you, in the word of the Lord, that it shall come to pass that you yourselves being Jews, and your whole race for the most part being cast away, and this your sanctuary, whereupon you boast so much, being utterly rejected, the Lord will transpose his loving countenance not into one angle of the world among the Jews only, but will be magnified, and have the glory of his name called upon, in every place throughout all nations and tongues, wheresoever scattered over the face of the earth, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same. For my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts.

Hitherto you have heard the words of Malachi used towards your people. It remains, lastly, that we speak of the sacrifices. For the prophet evidently declares that innovation shall ensue of the sacrifices also, speaking in this wise. Among the Gentiles, and in every place, incense and a pure offering shall be offered unto my name. Well now, what manner of offerings are these of the Gentiles, which the prophet commends so highly? Are they sacrifices of goats or calves? They are sacrifices of calves truly, but such as the prophet Hosea mentions in his

* See note, p. 394. † Free gift.

prophecy. And we will render, saith he, the calves of our lips, Hos. xiv. Verily, these are the calves wherewith the Lord is now well delighted. These calves do we offer, when, acknowledging our unrighteousness, we yield humble thanks to the gracious goodness of God, who, cleansing our wickedness with the fountain of the blood and death of his dearly beloved Son Christ Jesus, doth endue us with the inheritance of everlasting life. These are the spiritual offerings of the Gentiles, differing very much from the sacrifices of the Jews; for these are the pure offerings of the Spirit, that consist not in bloody broilings of brute beasts, nor in smelling of flesh, nor are offered with the hands of priests imbrued with gore. And for that cause the prophet doth call them clean. Well then, and why are these offerings called clean, rather than the Jewish sacrifices? What! shall we say that their blood offerings are unclean, and their sacrifices defiled then? Verily albeit the prophet doth not in express words verify the same; yet whoso shall duly ponder the substance and pith of his talk, shall easily discern, that the prophet, by secret implication, condemns the Jewish sacrifices, as polluted and profane in the respect of offerings of the Gentiles.

But here will one of your sect urge again, and demand whether these sacrifices were not instituted by God at the first, and the ordinances of the same prescribed unto us by Moses. Whether in them also were not contained the calves of lips, thanksgiving, and purging of sins. Whether God could be the author of any observances or ceremonies that were not in all parts sincere, pure, and without blemish. For answer whereof, we do not deny, that those sacrifices were instituted for your behoof, by special command and sufferance of the high and most excellent lawmaker, Almighty God. But consideration must be had of the meaning, purpose, end, and time, wherein they were to be frequented. Not that they were of value of their own nature, to purchase true righteousness, but to direct and lead us to the righteousness that was to come; not that you should account them infallible pledges of perfect piety, but that Almighty God might train and instruct you with these, as with certain principles, meanwhile, until you might be made apt to receive higher mysteries. Not because that great Lord and Father of spirits was delighted with the slaughter of brute beasts, of bloody gore of his creatures; but his good pleasure was, under these shadows,

types, and figures, to prefigure the death of his only Son, who, by his bloodshedding, should be of power to wash men's consciences clean from all filth and corruption of sin; not because you should always be nestling in these, and proceed no further, but to nurture your childhood for a time were they delivered, lest by pursuing the error of the Gentiles, ye should either rush headlong into the idolatrous abominations of the heathen; or at the least to restrain you instead of a schoolmaster, in some orderly comeliness for a time, until the clear day should appear, wherein better things should be revealed, and the truth itself should shut up and abolish those shadows and sacrifices.

Briefly, to satisfy this matter in two words; two notes are chiefly to be observed in these kinds of sacrifices; namely, the use and the time. As concerning the use, truly the due observation of those sacrifices was not of force, by their own nature, to make a chosen and beloved people of God; but to be rules and principles, for that people whom Moses had gathered to minister in his synagogue. Not because they were able of themselves to give eternal salvation, but that they should foreshow the coming of Him in whom rested true safety; and withal should represent an outward shadow of inward holiness and cleanness of mind. And, for that cause, provision was made for such beasts only that were clean, unspotted, and undefiled; hereby inducing the people of the old synagogue to learn how they ought to behave themselves in their daily conversation unblamable. As to that which appertains to the consideration of the time, this ought to be holden for certain, that those blood offerings of the ceremonial law, were not delivered because they should never cease, even as neither the temple was builded to the end it should never be razed and destroyed; or as though the overthrow thereof should forthwith extinguish all worshipping of God, but were given for a time only; not to continue for ever, but transitory rather and removable, remaining in use as certain exercises and introductions of outward discipline, until the blessed Seed should come, in whom the promise took effect. And, therefore, Almighty God did with great care long time as it were allow the sacrifices, to nurture the weak capacity of the people of that rude age; by means whereof the said sacrifices had then their certain use and estimation; nor were adjudged

unclean, during that season. But as now, the estate of the time being altered, since the truth itself doth overspread the world with wonderful lightsomeness, and the Sun of righteousness displayeth his clear and palpable brightness, these carnal sacrifices and blood offerings do utterly cease, and are altogether discharged from further use.

For what availeth to gaze after shadows where the body is present to be beholden plainly? What man will burn candle, or light a torch, in sunshine at mid-day? Who will grope for darkness in open light? or seek for night in clearest day? The cause why that butchery of simple beasts was permitted you, for a time, was to inform your grossness, and tame the hardness of your hearts; that so, by view of visible signs and representations of spectable shadows, the Lord might train you along, to the true and pure cleansing of sins, which was then to come. But now, since we are come to the truth itself, whereof the others were but shadows, it is a necessary consequent that those things which were sometime esteemed for clean, the very same again, through alteration of time, may be accounted not only unclean and defiled, but filthy also and abominable.

Which things being undoubtedly true, ye men of Israel, as may most manifestly appear unto you by the testimony and discourse of Malachi and other prophets, what extreme madness is this in you to persevere still in so deep a slumber, dreaming yet about your old rotten tabernacles, your forlorn temple, your carnal worshippings, and moth-eaten sacrifices! But let us imagine and grant by way of a case put, that you may recover your Jerusalem again; which notwithstanding will never come to pass, (unless God himself and all his prophets do speak falsely,) I would fain learn of you then what you would do there? First, you will procure your temple to be built up again. And why so? Because ye may offer incense and sacrifice to God after your accustomed manner! As though that general Lord of all nations cannot be worshipped elsewhere than in an angle of the world at Jerusalem! And how then will the saying of the prophet Malachi be verified, who saith, that the time should come, when the Lord of hosts should be worshipped in all places, and incense be offered unto him throughout all the world, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof? If you will so straiten and restrain all worship due unto God within the

walls of your temple only, as it were locked fast in some closet, then I demand of you further, with what kind of sacrifice you will pacify your God within that temple? Forsooth, with blood and butchery of beasts. But where is then that pure and undefiled offering mentioned by Malachi, which is not imbrued with slaughter, I suppose, but performed by spiritual sacrifices.

Finally, with what argument can you persuade that the living God ought to be worshipped more properly and peculiarly of you Jews, than of all other nations, namely, since you are so plainly convinced with the express testimony of Malachi? who, making no mention of the Jews, doth prophesy that the name of God shall be had in great admiration amongst the Gentiles? What answer will you make also to that promise of the same Malachi in the chapter following; where, foretelling the signs and tokens that should go before the coming of the Messias; namely, that his forerunner should come first, and prepare the way before the face of the Lord; and immediately he saith; And the Lord whom you seek shall speedily come to his holy temple, even the Angel of the covenant whom you desire, &c. What! came not that same forerunner that was promised? Was not his voice heard also in the desert according to the prophecy of Isaiah, crying out aloud, to the end you should prepare the way of the Lord, and should make straight in the desert a path for your God? Why did you not make preparation then? Why did you not receive the Angel of the covenant, whom ye desired, coming into his holy temple? Nay rather, why did you banish him from out your synagogue? Why did you daily exclude him from thence, railing continually upon the Lord with outrageous reproaches and taunting blasphemies? What punishment or torture may be imagined horrible enough to countervail such execrable outrages?

Also, by the way, here is not to be passed over in silence, the saying of the same prophet, annexed in the end of the same chapter, concerning the dreadful and terrible day of the Lord, wherewith he will overwhelm the proud and wicked doers, whom that hot scorching day, even as a hot burning oven should devour, as flame consumeth the stubble, leaving neither branch nor root of them.

But you will say that this threatening concerns others, and appertains not at all to you. Yes truly, the very order, proceeding, and event of the matter, most manifestly

convince, that this direful threatening was denounced against you chiefly; whose words that ensue hereupon immediately, are these, Behold, saith he, I will send you Elias the prophet, before the coming of the great and fearful day of the Lord, and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers, lest haply I come and smite the earth with cursing. And to whom must this Elias be sent, but unto you? And, therefore, what land shall be accursed, but you? Finally, what signifies the word, Anathema, but a certain final destruction of all mankind, except those persons only whom Elias should reduce to amendment of conversation? For God hath not so utterly rejected his people, that no remnant thereof shall be saved, as I declared before unto you out of St. Paul.

But I will cease to surcharge you with more testimonies, adding only one or two places, first out of the book of Genesis, and then out of the prophet Hosea; wherein it shall not be needful to use long discourse. For who is so ignorant in the holy scriptures that understandeth not what is meant by that sceptre which the patriarch Jacob, inspired by divine oracle, did boldly pronounce should never be removed from the tribe of Judah? Gen. xlix. And who is he at the length, but even the same whom the prophet Isaiah describes, saying, I have given him for a Governor and Teacher of the Gentiles? Which sentence the holy patriarch, inspired with the same Holy Ghost, did long before, in the same sense, profess, though in other words; And the Gentiles shall be gathered unto him. But as then the sceptre was not yet of power in Israel. But the godly grey-headed father, foreseeing long before the events of things to come, did prophesy of Judah in this wise: The sceptre or mace of the empire shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and the gathering of the Gentiles shall be unto him. Howsoever, some Talmudists do practise to pervert this place, with most frivolous cavillations; yea, though all the start up rabbins would burst in sunder, yet can this sentence by no violent wrest be framed appliable otherwise, but that two special matters must necessarily be grounded thereupon. First, that Judah and his tribe should be invested in the title and the interest of the kingdom. Next, that this prerogative should endure immovable, until Messias did come, unto whom the Gentiles should gather themselves. And to the same effect tendeth

the interpretation of Jonathas* and others, who lived long before the age of Christ, whose words, who listeth to hear, are these; "The king's seat shall not be taken, or depart from the house of Judah; neither shall lawgivers want their children's children, until the time that Messias shall come, to whom the kingdom doth belong. And all the kings of the earth shall become his vassals. How beautiful is this Messias, that shall come to continue in the house of Judah! He shall gird up his loins and go forth to battle against his enemies, and the kings and their princes shall be slain. He shall die the rivers red with the blood of the slain; his teeth shall be ordered with knowledge, lest he partake the fruits of their spoils, and wrong doings. The hills shall look red with their vines, and their wine-presses with the wine; the fields shall be adorned with beautiful blossom, by reason of the abundance of fruits of beasts and sheep, &c." Thus much thought I good to rehearse out of Jonathas; yet have we no need, praised be God, to vouch any commentaries of the Jews, to manifest the mysteries of the Holy Scripture, namely, since there can be no better interpreter of the prophetical scriptures than time, and approved experiences of the successes thereof.

The testimony that I thought good to borrow out of Hosea, most worthy to be noted of you that are Jews, is that which he setteth down in the first chapter of his prophecy, where the prophet, inveighing against Israel, uses this speech; Call his name, not my people, because you are not my people, therefore will I not be yours, &c. Whereby you may plainly perceive the saying of St. Paul, confirmed from the prophet, namely; The same which he teaches concerning the natural branches, which he said were hewn off from the olive tree. And now, ye men of Israel, where is that your arrogant vain-glorious vaunt of the offspring of your kindred? If to be issued of the race of Abraham be prized so highly in the sight of God, what meaneth then this casting away of the Israelites, mentioned by the prophet? what signifieth that special choice and calling of the Gentiles, and the wild olive tree to be planted in their place? for so we read the promise set down by the prophet, Hosea i. And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured and told. And in the place where it was said, Ye are not my people, it shall be said unto them, You are

*Thargum Hierosolim. written by Jonathas upon Genesis xlix.

the sons of the living God. It was a singular prerogative for them, not being Israelites born, to be named and numbered amongst the true children of Israel. But the other did far surmount, that being before the brood of the devil, they should now be called the sons of the living God. And to whom, I beseech you, is this unspeakable benefit promised? Forsooth, neither to the Israelites nor to the Jews, nor to them which seemed to appertain unto God, but unto them which were altogether severed, and estranged from God; the very abject Gentiles, barbarous and uncircumcised heathen! Whom the incomprehensible mercy of God will join near unto himself, and will engraff them into the root of his own natural olive tree, having first sawed off the natural branches, in whose stead he shall gather the Gentiles together, from out a wild olive tree, in such plentiful abundance and infinite heaps, as will not be comprehended within the territory of Palestine only, but, like unto the sands of the sea, will replenish the whole world, far and wide, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.

Ye have heard the mind and purport of the prophet, which if ye suppose to be as yet not accomplished for your behoof through the gospel of Messias, our Lord and Saviour, open your eyelids, if you are not blind, and behold the innumerable multitude of people and tongues, which every where, throughout all the world, do profess the true worshipping of God; number them, if you are able; but if the quantity be as infinite as the sand of the sea, exceeding all reach and compass of number, you may easily conjecture thereby, ye men of Israel, into what straits your wilful ignorance forces you, and how perilous that froward blindness of yours is, and withal bethink yourselves in time, what were best for you to embrace from henceforth. Nay, rather, how foolishly you have behaved yourselves heretofore. God did send his only begotten Son into the world, the Seed of the woman, and born of a virgin, whose parentage and kindred, from whence he issued, because you did not know, and nevertheless were amazed to behold his heavenly power in doing miracles, his wonderful clemency employed to the cure of all manner of diseases, and casting out of devils, yet being swallowed up of extreme madness, and overwhelmed with blind rancour and cankered malice, you did most cruelly despoil him of life, and spilt his guiltless blood, without all cause of offence. For why

may I not justly accuse you, as partakers of the same crime, since ye do, with whole bent affection of hateful despite, pursue the imbrued steps of your bloody sires, and gladly allow of that execrable murder?

And therefore, thou accursed Jew, thou art duly charged with the guilt of innocent blood; englut therefore thyself with gore. Thou didst receive Cæsar to be thy king, refusing Christ; continue his bondslave still. Yet this worketh no grace in thee, nor allureth thee to abandon thy doting error, for thou dost as yet breathe out villany against the King of the Jews, whose name we have in greatest estimation. But what thinkest thou to gain by kicking against the pricks? Dost thou not perceive how God hath made frustrate all thy devices, contrary to thine expectation? Dost thou not see how thy mischievous practices recoil back upon thine own head? Dost thou not feel thy downfal into the pit which thyself hast digged? Thou seest the temple so razed and overthrown to the ground, that no stone thereof can be found; thou dost see thy religion utterly abolished, the priesthood, the law, the kingdom, your cities, your nation, your race and kindred wholly extinguished: briefly, thou canst recount no one thing remaining, but a few wretched and contemptible runagates, true monuments of the outrageous insolency, and miserable calamity of their forlorn forefathers; yea, that small portion also, enduring through none other privilege than by this commendation of Paul, and the sufferance of the christians. And being thus continually turmoiled with sundry miseries, notwithstanding God's just judgment doth daily execute new increases of his severe wrath against you; yet are your minds so intoxicate with the poisoned sweet potion of bewitched ignorance, that these wonderful scourges can ply your hearts to no better grace, persisting still in perverse frowardness, as that these pinching plagues, the horror whereof might have prevailed to procure amendment, seem rather to stir and provoke you to further cruelty. For albeit you do plainly perceive, and cannot deny, but that all whatsoever your own prophets have foretold of the Messias, is absolutely accomplished in the person of Christ Jesus; albeit you may easily learn out of the holy scriptures, and by continual experience and successes of times, that there is none other Christ, but even the same whom the whole world doth worship at this present; albeit you sensibly feel that you are become a mockery, not to almighty God only,

but accounted also no better than rascals and runagates, of all nations of the world; yet do ye curse Christ in your synagogues daily, and expect yet another Messias, (I know not whom,) which you shall never see but in that dreadful and terrible day of wrath, at what time, notwithstanding all you can do, you shall behold Him whom you have cruelly crucified. What monstrous hardness of heart is this, ye men and Hebrews, that so many heavenly oracles of so many your own prophets, so many manifest testimonies of sacred scriptures, so many horrible punishments, so many unmerciful plagues wherewith your nation is and hath been continually tormented, cannot induce you to conceive some sparkle of true repentance? The Romans did ransack you with such outrage in their conquest, that they spared neither young nor old, men, women, and infants; neither left one stone standing upon another upon your whole city. Finally, your habitations are become waste and desolate, ye have now neither city nor temple, kingdom nor priesthood, people nor prophet; and, what of all other is most lamentable, you have eyes that cannot see, ears that cannot hear, hearts that cannot understand, whereby you may repent, and be converted to your liege Lord and Sovereign King.

But go ye to; let all that which is passed be imputed either to your ignorance, or to the wrathful vengeance of God for your unbelief sake, because ye knew not the time of your visitation. And being allured and stirred up to better remembrance by so manifold examples, learn now at the length by the preaching of the gospel, to acknowledge our Christ Jesus, the Lord of peace, of meekness, and of humility, to be the only Messias, sent from God the Father; in whose name all nations of the earth shall be saved, and to whom all knees in heaven and earth ought to bow down and prostrate themselves. There was sometimes an unsavoury season of darkened ignorance when our temples also were polluted with filthy idolatry; but now, since all clouds of foggy superstition are for the more part scattered and vanished out of sight, and the clear dawning of the lightsome truth of Christ's gospel displayeth his orient beams, tread no longer the dirty track of superstitious mismases, but return with us, and be made partakers of the lively well spring of sincere and pure doctrine.* The same Christ whom you persecute, must be worshipped; whose

* The idolatrous practices of the church of Rome ever have been a stumbling block to the Jews.

doctrine you practise to root out, even he offers you salvation, freely and frankly. The same whom you contemptuously entreated as a man, is worshipped in all the world, both God and man; howsoever ye despised him, (as Joseph was sometime rejected of his brethren,) yet reigneth he in the glory of his Father; whom you mortal men believed to die the natural death, the same revived again immortal, and shall live in immortality for ever. Whom your forefathers embased under the rabble of the people, and accounted for an abject and outcast of all men, even to his Majesty do all the lofty estates and stately powers of heaven and earth prostrate and humble themselves; that the saying of Isaiah may aptly be verified in this place, The kings of the earth shall stop their mouths before him, Isaiah lii. Whom you reproached with the most shameful death of the cross, the very same cross is turned into his glory, to our salvation, to the judgment of the world, to the destruction of his enemies, and everlasting consolation of them that are redeemed. So that here again, the prophecy of Isaiah may seem to take effect; And everlasting joy shall be upon their heads, and sorrow and mourning shall flee away. Finally, whose name your forefathers hoped to have been rased out of all men's memory, the very same name hath God magnified above all the glory of angels and men: at the calling upon whose name the dead arise again, maladies are cured, devils do tremble and quake for fear, unclean spirits are tormented and flee away; yea, the whole hierarchy of angels bow down and worship. Now, forasmuch as these things are so manifest that no man can be ignorant of them, I wonder much what reason you can allege to colour your obstinate contumacy, who, being taught by so many examples, can content yourselves nevertheless to lie still slumbering in vanishing shadows; and, neglecting the very natural Son of God, can grope, like buzzards, after a senseless imaginative shape, of I know not what Messias; when your true Messias is already come, or besides him else shall never any one come; unless all your own prophets were liars, who have described unto you no other Messias, but this one only person.

But this matter haply may offend you, to repeat again somewhat of that I have spoken, because his coming was contemptible, base, and of no reputation, because he was condemned to death, because he was crucified on the cross, because he died and was buried. But if every of these

had not met, and been concurrent together in this one person, he could never have been the true Messias, neither would have been acknowledged. But you tarry, gaping still after some gay glorious king. Well; and what wanted in this person, I beseech you, to the absolute measure of highest royalty? whom the Lord did so advance to the right hand of his omnipotent power; at the brightness of whose majesty, you saw the sun lose his light, the earth quake; you saw graves opened, you saw stones burst in sunder, you saw also the vail of the temple rent in pieces. Or, if you did not see it with your own eyes, your forefathers beheld them all, whereof they could never deny any one tittle. So did they see him poor and base, you will say. I confess no less; what then? Yet they conceived not the power and force of that his baseness, nor how honourable that reproach was. In like manner they saw him dead, yet they conceived not the mystery of his death: they conceived not, I say, how it pleased the Lord, by the death of this one man, to open a way for salvation to all people. They conceived not that the tyranny of the devil was vanquished by the ignominy of the cross, and that all sacrifices and shadows were finished by this only sacrifice. But so it pleased God the Father to give his Son unto us, for a pattern of perfect humility, and by this means to glorify his only begotten: the brightness of whose glory if you do acknowledge, there remaineth matter enough to save you; but if you will not acknowledge him, this is also matter enough to condemn you. And, will ye or nill ye, you shall be forced to confess that no counsel, policy, or device of man, is able to countervail the counsel of God; neither any force and power of men, is able to withstand the power of Christ.

But I hope well of your amendment; for why should I not hope, when I find St. Paul to conceive so well of your return again? Wherefore, ye men and Jews, seeing ye bear the name of Jews, (which by interpretation is called confessors,) pluck up your hearts, raise up your minds, persevere no longer in your wonted obstinacy against your own prophets, withstand not from henceforth the manifest light of the gospel. Let the profession of your faith be sound, sincere, and pure at the length, learn to understand the law of God after the spiritual meaning and sense of the Holy Ghost; so shall ye begin to be accounted, according to the nature of your names, pure professors of the truth. Be

not dismayed with despair to attain everlasting life because you crucified the Son of God; your error only procured this mischief. God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he may be converted, live, and be saved. The most horrible crime that can be imagined, can be no estoppel* to salvation, against him that will believe. Only acknowledge your wickedness, and repose your trust in the free promises of the gospel, and ye shall freely receive the reward of eternal felicity freely offered unto you. It is an heinous reproach against the glory of God, to be disobedient to the prophets; it is much more heinous to persecute and murder them. But to rack the Saviour of the world upon the cross, is of all other most execrable. Yet hath the Lord promised to forget all these injuries, if you will but repent of them; neither requireth he the blood of beasts at your hands to purge those offences. Christ is the perfect sacrifice offered for the sins of all people. Only acknowledge your sins, brag no more of your own righteousness from henceforth, believe only in the Son of the living God. If he were not the Son of God, declare unto us who was his father in earth, if you can? If he were not a prophet, how could he not only conceive in mind, but in words also foretell and express the destruction of your nation, the dismembering of your commonwealth, the abomination standing in the holy place; yea, every of them orderly as they ensued? How could he prophesy of his own rising again the third day, and of the sending of the Holy Ghost? How could he know the certainty of the calling of the Gentiles, the denying of Peter, and of many other things, partly come to pass already, partly to be accomplished hereafter? And if he uttered any one untruth in any of all these, condemn him for a liar; but if experience and approved evidence of the orderly successes and events thereof have openly denounced his words to be true, what should stay and hinder you from the truth? For, to speak nothing of his miraculous works, tell us yet if you did ever hear of the like, or if any skill, policy, or industry of man might possibly reach unto the like. But if this so great and incredible power, did so far surmount all ability of man's strength and capacity; hereof may you sufficiently gather, how you ought to judge of the inestimable power of his divine nature.

But, forasmuch as the excellency of heavenly things are

* Legal impediment.

of their own nature unsearchable, nor can be attained unto by man's policy, or worldly wisdom, but must be discovered by the only operation of almighty God; I do most humbly pray and beseech the same God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for his dear Son's sake, that, as he hath long since, according to his just judgment, executed his wrath against your unbelief, by cutting you off from your natural root, so it may please him, of his infinite mercy, whereby he is of power to plant you into your former dignity again, that your hearts being delivered from the thick clouds of obstinate infidelity, our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, the only and undoubted Messias, may enlighten your souls, and gather you home again to your natural root. That is to say, that he will vouchsafe to lead you back again into his own family with his elect saints, and make you partakers of his gladsome gospel, and everlasting felicity; that as the root is holy, so the branches also, recovering the natural verdure of their honourable stock, may be engraffed again by faith, from whence they revolted through unbelief. For performance whereof, to remove away all mistrust of well conceiving hope, as also to be of assured confidence that the time of your recovery is even at hand, St. Paul doth minister special matter of comfort, who in the selfsame sermon which he preached concerning the falling away of the Jews, not only sets down his own judgment thereof, but also very plainly discloses that high mystery, touching that blessed and joyful return of the Jews, revealed as it were unto him by the secret counsel and determination of almighty God.

Of the which I will speak more hereafter by the help of Christ, after that I have debated somewhat with the Gentiles, whom the Lord hath called, and have in few words exhorted my dearly beloved brethren in Christ to be mindful of those things, according to my simple understanding. And yet I see no cause why I should spend any long time herein; for I do firmly trust that all those sayings are already noted by you that hear me, yea, and deeply imprinted in your minds, which the apostle doth teach here, touching the due observation of our calling, so that mine exhortation shall not be much needful in this place. First, I suppose that you are not ignorant of the great rigour that God executed upon his people; wherewith if he would have punished you, what might have hindered him I pray you?

Yea, rather what was the cause, why he did not punish you? Do you think that any of you were endued with any such excellency, as you might thereby challenge any pre-eminence above the Jewish nation? Were not we sometimes even in the same plight that many Jews remain in at this day; namely, unfaithful unbelievers in the sight of God? Then, if God excluded the Jews for their unbelief, as he did, what argument might have induced him to have more compassion upon the Gentiles, who were sometimes as void of faith as they are now? Whereby you may perceive, my dear brethren, how the inestimable mercy of God doth miraculously work in man's election, beyond all hope and capacity of man, who hath compassion on whom it pleaseth him, and hardeneth the hearts of whom he listeth. That it may rightly be said, That it consisteth neither in the power of the willing, nor of the running, to obtain mercy, but in the merciful God. If this be not yet apparent unto you, look upon those Israelites that are yet forsaken of God, who were sometimes in his favour, and you admitted in their stead! What was the cause thereof, I pray you? Thou wilt say, That the natural branches were broken off, that I might be engraffed in. It is true indeed, they were broken off, as thou sayest. But, this was not done for thy sake, but for their own unbelief sake. And yet it followed hereupon, that we were planted in; neither is this false that thou speakest. But this is not the point I seek for. There is yet another thing; not whether the Jews were broken off; but I would fain know, what virtue was in thee, that might procure thee to be engraffed in their place? And wherefore should they, being natural branches, be hewn off? If you compare with them in antiquity of race, they did far excel you in antiquity of birth, and dignity of parentage. For they were your elders far, by which title they might lawfully challenge the pre-eminence of the birthright. If you stand with them upon deservings, how precisely did they pursue the prescript rule of righteousness, whereof thou didst take no regard at all, although in truth they were never able to attain the perfection they sought for. If thou contend with them in excellency of zeal, they wanted not very fervent and entire zeal, albeit their earnest bent affection wanted true understanding. If thou boast upon thy uprightness of life, surely we Gentiles were in no respect comparable unto them in conversation of life. If thou have regard to the painfulness of the toil, or estate

of the calling, they did bear the brunt and heat of the sun, and were then first, when as thou camest into the vineyard scarcely amongst the last, even at the last cast. All which, notwithstanding, thou dost plainly perceive, that they are rent off from the natural stock, whereupon they grew, and thyself, being otherwise a starveling bough of a wild olive tree, and of an unfruitful stock, art adopted into the inheritance of the sons of God.

What shall we say then? Is God to be accused of ingratitude because he departeth from his own? Or of inconstancy, for making innovation of his ancient covenant? God forbid. For he did never constrain the performance of his promise to any place or people. He made a promise to Abraham only, that out of his seed a sprout should issue, in whom all nations and kindreds of the earth should be blessed. For he doth not say, In thee all nations shall be blessed; but, In thy Seed: in whom all men truly should be rewarded with life everlasting, as many as would receive him; as on the other side, he that did refuse him should obtain no mercy nor favour at God's hands. And it is not to be doubted that this Seed is the very Son of God, whom, if the Jews would once at the last lovingly embrace, they should no more be excluded from the benefit of the promise. But, forasmuch as they do yet not only refuse him, but continue also their cankered outrage against him, with execrable cursings, and cruel spoiling this Seed, in his members, so horribly; there is no cause why they should presume to challenge any prerogative of the promise, since the person could not prescribe upon the promise as made unto him, but in respect of the Seed. But why was not this benefit of faith and belief in Christ imparted to the Jews, as well as to the Gentiles, indifferently? Some question indeed might be moved herein, if the same had not already been dismissed by his prophets sufficiently; namely, that the Jews themselves should loath, reject, yea, and procure the death of their own Messias. And if yet any person will seem so captious, to be further inquisitive to learn, why the Jews are not able to comprehend that which is laid open to the Gentiles, the same may be satisfied with this fit and reasonable answer; whereas the Jews were thoroughly persuaded in mind, and confirmed in conscience, by custom of long continuance, that no righteousness was acceptable in the sight of God, but that which consisted in performing

the works of the law, and celebrating the sacrifices and ceremonies of the same, and that this false conceived opinion, so deeply rooted in the hearts of men, could by no means else be extirpated and plucked out, but by the undermining and utter overthrow of the name of that nation, the whole commonwealth thereof, together with all the sacrifices and ceremonies pertaining thereunto. Hereof sprang all that blindness and subversion of the Jews, albeit the same blindness infected not all in general, nor was the same destruction allotted unto them to endure for ever.

But by this example it may haply be thought that God did execute too much cruelty and rigour against those poor wretches, the Jews. If this could be admitted, as indeed it cannot, it was therefore a good lesson to forewarn us, according to St. Paul's advertisement, that we should duly, and with careful consideration, exactly examine the severity of God; and not his severity only, but his bountiful goodness withal; that so, through the often remembrance of the one, we might be restrained in a right fear; and through the daily recording of the other we might be raised to thankfulness and dutiful love towards God. A very lively example truly of God's severity is here expressed in the Jews; who, being fallen from their ancient dignity, were overwhelmed with such blindness, that notwithstanding Christ, whose coming they looked for many hundred years, was come already, and conversant amongst them, they should yet pursue him with contumelious reproaches, rail upon him, and persecute him. The like precedent of God's lenity and gentleness appeared in us that are Gentiles, manifestly; whom, of his free mercy, he freely vouchsafed to associate into the fellowship of such inestimable blessedness, which was neither due to our parentage, nor could be purchased by any of our deservings.

Since this is most true, what remaineth, ye men and brethren, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but that according to the counsel of the apostle, premeditating and continually recording the example of the Jews, we become more circumspect, and learn, by their ruin, what we ought to fear, and what we ought to eschew? First, that being taught by the Jews' unbelief, we endeavour by all means possible, with earnest and hearty supplications and prayers, to escape that dangerous gulf of incredulous unbelief. But you will demand, what kind of unbelief

that was, wherewith they were blinded. Do they not believe in one God, Maker of heaven and earth? Do they not confess, as well as we, that the same God is most mighty, most merciful, yea, a most righteous Judge, and rewarder of deeds? The answer is ready. If we were angels, or such kind of men as could not possibly decline out of the way, or had never fallen into error, then would this faith have been a sufficient cover to shroud us, in that we might need no further mediator. But now, being altogether sinful, born of sinful parents, environed with the whole body of sin, what do we else, when we call upon God, without regard of the Mediator, than raise his wrath, sharpen his vengeance, and provoke him to aggravate the judgment of our damnation, and, to speak the words of Isaiah, procure our dwelling with devouring fire, and make our dwelling with everlasting flames? For what can be more dreadful for man's weak nature, than to debate with God without Christ? From the which I beseech our Saviour Christ to preserve us all.

The other is, lest we should foolishly flatter ourselves at other men's harms. Faith is the gift of God, and consisteth not in any demonstration of man's imagination; whereunto, if it were possible to attain by force of nature, by works, by due deservings of the law, by ceremonies, by parentage, or nobility of race, surely the Jews, as they were our ancients in years, so approached nearer the election than we. But, considering this faith dependeth upon the free mercy of God only, and the free distribution of his especial election, and thou, through the only kindness of the Lord, art endued with that blessing which is denied to others, thou mayest worthily rejoice in this thy felicity. But beware that this singular felicity suggest not matter of pride, as may make thee tread down and scorn the calamities of the afflicted; but learn rather by their example what thou mayest fear thyself. Wherein no man can instruct thee more pithily than St. Paul. Be not proud in mind, saith he, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee. For thou, whosoever thou art that standest in faith, dost not stand so assured that thou mayest not fall; neither is their unbelief such as is spread over them all, or such as shall endure for ever, and is unrecoverable. For as there are very many Jews, as I said before, which do confess and profess Christ, (as is this one Jew whom we see here present at this time,)

so is the Lord mighty and of power to have compassion upon the remnant, and to raise them up which are yet forsaken, and trodden underfoot.

And that ye may the better understand that God is of power able to do the same, as also his determined purpose herein, and what he willeth us to conceive thereof, I will declare unto you the judgment and hope of St. Paul touching the same, whereof he doth also, under a certain secret mystery, make us partakers. And to this purpose it seemed good to St. Paul to advertise us that are Gentiles, that we should be well advised, lest being puffed up with pride, and swelling with a vain arrogant persuasion of our own strength, we conceive better of ourselves than is requisite, because we seem to stand in better estimation than the Jews; therefore he would not have us ignorant of this great blindness of the Jews, as that which neither happened to all the nation in general, but in part upon Israel, nor that the same was past recovery, but should endure only so long, until the full number of the Gentiles were accomplished. And then, saith he, it shall come to pass, that all the people of Israel shall be saved. Which testimony of the apostle is a sufficient argument to declare that the Jews shall be restored again, if I am not deceived. But when that return of the Jews shall be, the divines are not fully agreed upon. When the fulness of the Gentiles shall come, saith St. Paul. But when that fulness shall come, is known only to Him whose words in the gospel are these; It is not for you to know the signs and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power, Acts i. Unless, peradventure, we will interpret this fulness in this wise; that the Jews shall continue so long in blindness, as the Gentiles did in unbelief, while the Jews remained in belief; and that the fulness of the Gentiles shall seem to be accomplished, when the Gentiles may prescribe as long continuance in the possession of God's church without the Jews, as the Jews did first enjoy their synagogue without the Gentiles. The number of which years will not vary much, if the computation be proportionably made. For if according to this rule ye derive your number from the first institution of the Jew's commonwealth, unto the utter subversion of the same, ye shall find 1564; the course of which years, if ye compare with the calling of the Gentiles, that is to say, from the time that the Holy Ghost was sent, until this present time, the

number of years will not be far unequal. And yet in my judgment it shall not be amiss, if a man make his calculation, having relation to those times whereof the Lord himself made mention in the evangelist Luke. And Jerusalem, saith he, shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles, until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

But the knowledge of the certain moments and appointed minutes of that time we commit unto the Lord. This only we learn most assuredly out of St. Paul, that God hath decreed upon an infallible certainty of time, wherein the Gentiles shall mount to their fulness; and the Jews also after that fulness of time shall return unto the faith. For speedy and good success whereof, that one thing doth minister plentiful matter of good hope, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to cleanse his church every where so happily in these our days, and hath purged them from all offences and stumbling blocks, which occasioned the Jews to withdraw themselves so long from the participation of our faith.

And here I might use offered opportunity to exclaim against the presumptuous boldness of those persons, whatsoever they were, which presume to thrust into temples and churches of christians, images, and counterfeits of he saints and she saints at the first; and to convey the pure worshipping of the invisible God, to the representations of visible things, contrary to the prescript ordinance of the law of God, contrary to reason and nature, contrary to the approved custom of the elders, and contrary to all example of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Out of which puddle has issued wonderful stench; so amongst all other, nothing more noisome than those pestilent botches of image worship, bread worship, wine worship, cross worship, signs and portraits of visible creatures; the view whereof caused the true and sincere profession of the christians to be loathsome to the Jews, to their great hinderance and prejudice. For what marvel was it if the Jews, that were taught by the prescript rule of God's law to abhor worshipping of images, entering into the churches of christians and beholding the walls, pillars, and all the corners thereof bedaubed with painted and carved idols, besides innumerable other baubles of imagery; perceiving also open market to be made, not only of the picture of the cross, but of the sacrament of bread and wine also, displayed and blazed abroad, not after the manner of communicating, but

gloriously vaunted with singular magnificence, to be honoured and kneeled unto: what marvel was it, I say, if they, being offended with this open idolatry, did so long refrain from us and from the discipline of our faith?

But it is well now, thanked be Christ, that these offensive baggage and image worshippings are for the more part defaced and scraped out of christian churches, and the ancient purity of christian profession is begun to take so good footing, and now amongst us remain no dregs in our temples, in our religion, nor in our doctrine, that may minister just occasion of offence to the Jews, or any other enemies, though they inveigh against our religion ever so much. And I would to God, all other that profess the name of christians would yield their like endeavour to the abolishment of all corruptions of religion, and incivility of living, out of their congregations, which may breed any further loathsomeness to the Jews. Truly this is much to be lamented, that our adversaries can find no blemish of just quarrel in the person of Christ Jesus, whose name we would seem to profess; and on the other side know in us nothing consonant and agreeable to the true touchstone of God's holy word and Christ's religion, whereof we bear the name, but all things repugnant and unlike the pure and first pattern thereof.

But I will not adventure further upon this quagmire; the sink is deeper than can be in this place or at this time scoured or drained. But since our present purpose is now to treat only of the conversion of the Jews; of the good success whereof, as there is no hope at all else than by purging and cleansing the filthy puddles of our superstitions, the unsavoury stench whereof the Jews can by no means digest; what remaineth for us to do, my dear brethren and honourable fathers in the Lord, but that every of us in our vocation, employ all our endeavour, faculty and power, that nothing may be committed amongst us, in our default from henceforth, whereby the true religion of Christ, which he gave most pure without spot or blemish, may be defiled and brought into hatred and obloquy, and blasphemed amongst the Jews, Turks, Pagans, and unbelieving infidels. My meaning here tendeth not to the determining of controversies in sects, nor of doubtful controversies debated in schools; the censure whereof I commit to the great masters and doctors in divinity.

Only my request at this time is, that those gross monuments of manifest idolatry, those fantastical devices and frivolous forgeries of signs and images, and those stage-like gestures and pelting trumperies, frequented in churches; as are the praying for the dead, worshipping of creatures and signs, forbidding priests' marriages, and such like peevish absurdities, (wherewith the Jews were never acquainted,) which are manifestly repugnant to the express word of God, yea, and contrary to common reason almost, may be rooted out and banished from christian churches and congregations; that so we may open an entry to the Jews and Turks to conceive an inward desire to be joined to the Son of God; or, if we will not do this for the Jews' sake, let us yet, at the least, have due regard to our own estate. We have been plagued sufficiently enough by the Turks and Saracens for our idolatry, if we respect the sundry overthrows, famines, slaughters, and alterations of kingdoms, wherewith the christians have been miserably tormented many hundred years; to the great delight of the Jews; neither is any hope scarcely of redress from great calamities like to ensue, unless we cast away this worshipping of idols out of christian congregations and temples, as I said before, and thus enter upon a new course of better conversation and purer worshipping of God.

But forasmuch as this notable enterprise of reformation of life and purer discipline, hath over many adversaries at this day, such as will by no persuasion suffer themselves to be allured from their accustomed impiety, and that this wicked age ministereth no hope of recovery by exhortation, and that nothing can avail now to bring this to pass but supplications and prayers; let every of us most humbly join together in earnest and hearty prayer to the eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; beseeching him, for his dearly beloved Son's sake, that as he hath shut up all under unbelief because he will have compassion on all, so he will vouchsafe to deliver the Jews from their infidelity, all christians from superstition and idolatry, and withal govern and sanctify his church in the same pure sincerity wherewith he did beautify it at the beginning. For which cause we humbly beseech thee also, most mild Saviour, who art appointed King over thy holy hill Sion, to manifest thyself a Redeemer unto thy people, out of that thy holy hill Sion, and to turn away ungodliness

from Jacob. Then shall that come to pass which thou didst promise long ago by the mouth of the prophet, that the children of Judah and the children of Israel being gathered together under one Head, shall all together with us, with one soul, one voice, and one mouth, acknowledge thee to be the true Son of the living God, shall magnify thee, our Redeemer, and attain eternal salvation of body and soul, together with us, in thy everlasting kingdom, through thee, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

The Confession of Faith

Which Nathanael, a Jew born, made before the congregation in the parish church of Alhallows, in Lombard Street, at London, whereupon he was, according to his desire, received into the number of the faithful, and so baptized the first of April, 1577. *Written by himself first in the Spanish tongue, and after translated into English.*

Men and brethren, to whom God hath revealed in these later days the secret of his Son, which was hidden from you many ages; it is not unknown unto you, how that in the days of our forefathers God chose us to be a precious people unto himself, above all the people that are upon the earth. And he loved us and chose us, not because we were more in number than any people; for we were the fewest of all people: but he chose us only because he loved us, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. By virtue of which promise, the same our Lord and God, whose name is Jehovah, brought our fathers by a mighty hand, and delivered them out of the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they might know that the Lord their God is the God indeed, the faithful God which keepeth covenant and mercy unto them that love him and keep his commandments, even to a thousand generations. According to which great and unspeakable loving kindness, he kept and preserved our fathers in the land of Israel, which he had given them under the obedience of his law, in such service of sacrifices and other rites as he had appointed them to be done and practised all the days of their lives in the city of Jerusalem, where was his

temple built upon the mount Sion, so long as they kept themselves in obedience to the same law and ordinances. But when they forsook the Lord their God, and cleaved unto false gods, he rewarded them to their face because they hated him, and brought them to destruction by delivering them into the hands of many enemies; as into the hands of Nabuchadnezer, by whom they were carried into captivity to Babylon, and there remained the days foretold them by our prophet Jeremie; fulfilling thereby the words of our prophet Moseh, foretelling us that it should so be, if we forsook the Lord our God; and leaving us, their posterity, an example thereby, that if we followed like iniquity, like severity of punishment should overtake us. As it came to pass, and is fulfilled in the eyes of all the world by this captivity which we are now in, and have been in, we and our forefathers, ever since the death of that righteous man, Jesus Christ; whom the scribes and pharisees, and elders of our people, delivered into the hands of Pontius Pilate to be put to death, being before betrayed into their hands by one of his own disciples, that son of perdition, Judas Iscarioth. As our forefathers then pronounced against themselves, Let his blood be upon our heads, and upon our children; so it is come to pass by the righteous judgment of that mighty and dreadful God. For even from those days unto this present, the whole house of Israel, that is, we that come of the stock of Abraham after the flesh, is and are strangers out of the land of Israel, our own country, without law or prophets, without all exercise of his statutes and ordinances concerning his worship, prescribed unto us by the hand of his servant Moseh.

This long and wearisome captivity hath consumed a great number of our forefathers, and hath caused some of us from time to time, through the grace and love of God, wherewith he loveth us for the promise sake, to think upon our promised Messhiach; conferring these days of sorrow and calamity with our former captivities of our fathers, which were nothing so many in number of years, nor so grievous for want of our prophets. These fifteen hundred years have we been strangers, and these fifteen hundred years have we lacked our prophets; a thing not seen at any time before when we and our fathers were carried into a strange land. For in Egypt they had Mosheh and Aaron; and in Babylon they had Jeremie and Daniel, besides Ezra, Nechemiah, and many other: only in this captivity

is Israel left desolate and our prophets clean gone. Whereof when it pleased God that I should have consideration, I was led to think that our Messhiach is come, and that our long looking for another was but in vain. And the rather for that I see the words of Jacob our father accomplished, where he saith, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come; and the people shall be gathered unto him. For the sceptre and government was continued in the house of Judah, as our fathers accord, until the coming of this man Jesus; in whom if it were not continued according to the words of our scriptures, it hath failed and wanted ever since. For since the days of that just man, there hath been no sceptre amongst us, neither have we, or do we, run for judgment unto Jerusalem. So that if the words of our father Jacob be true, that the sceptre should not depart from the house of Judah until Shiloh came, and there is no sceptre nor lawgiver now in that house; then must it needs be that this man Jesus, whom you confess and believe, is that Shiloh which was to come; and is that child of whom one of our prophets saith, Unto us a Child is born, and unto us a Son is given, and the government is upon his shoulder; and he shall call his name Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of peace; the increase of his government and peace shall have none end; he shall sit upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

This man then no doubt is that Messhiach which was looked for according to promise, and whom our fathers and people acknowledge not, fulfilling in themselves the words of their own mouth, "His blood be upon our heads!" Indeed it seemed strange to me, and doth to the rest of my brethren according to the flesh, even unto this day, in whom this blindness and hardness of heart is in part continued, through occasion given by them that profess the name of this man Jesus. And not only in us which are of the house of Israel, but in others, as the Turks and Mahometans which are of the race of Ishmael. For had it not been for the great and manifold idolatry that is committed and used amongst the christians, almost in all places where his name is professed, many of our nation had repented in sackcloth and ashes, and had come to this man

Jesus, their brother after the flesh, from whom they are now estranged and go astray. But well is it written in your law, Wo be unto him by whom offence cometh; according as it is written in our law, Cursed be the man that layeth a stumbling-block in the way of his neighbour; and all the people shall say, Amen. But when it pleased God to bring me into this land, which I must for the same cause call a blessed land, and I saw therein no such impediment as holdeth our eyes blinded in other places, it was a means, I must needs confess, that made me more deeply enter into the former consideration of our long captivity, and better to think of the words of our prophets, and the promises set down by them touching our Messhiach.

For the wall that maketh a separation between our nation, the stock of Abraham, and you the Gentiles, is in your respect, and in your behalf broken down; so that I cannot justly say of you, as we and our fathers and elders say of all other, using in all our books and writings to call and account of them by no other name but Baal abodazara, idolatrous masters, and lords of strange worship. A thing so detestable unto us, as nothing can be more so concerning our law, being indeed the first and chief of our commandments given us by the hand of Mosheh, and so often repeated unto us, as no one thing in all our scriptures. Besides the manifest anger of God showed against it, in punishing the trespass therein committed by our forefathers in the absence of Mosheh, when he was gone up into the mount to fetch the law, when our fathers were to enter into the land of promise, the first and principal point required of them was this; When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall root out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and greater than thou, and the Lord thy God shall give them before thee; then shalt thou smite them, thou shalt utterly destroy them, thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor have compassion on them; neither shalt thou make marriages with them, neither give thy daughter unto his son, nor take his daughter unto thy son; for they will cause thy son to turn away from me, and to serve other gods: then will the wrath of the Lord wax hot against you, and destroy you suddenly. But thus you shall deal with them; you shall

overthrow their altars, and break down their pillars, and you shall cut down their groves and burn their graven images with fire.

The severity of this law, and the false worship that we and our fathers behold in them that profess the name of this man Jesus, withholdeth us from coming to make any covenant of peace with you, from joining hands with you, and entering into that familiarity with you, which should be between them that worship one God. We are commanded in our law not to plough with an ox and an ass, neither to wear any garment of linsey woolsey; we understand it so, that we may not join God and idols together; we may not serve our Lord otherwise than he hath commanded us, saying, Turn not aside to the right hand nor to the left. For he is a jealous God, and we are chosen to be a holy people unto him; which we are taught we cannot be unless we keep this commandment: Thou shalt have none other gods but one: and this, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image nor the likeness of any thing. And because they do so, we have been withholden by the commandment of our God from making any covenant with them, or hearkening unto any of their prophets and teachers; for that were but to make Israel to sin, and to provoke the holy One to anger.

When they talk with us, they say they are not such as our prophets speak of, who worshipped beasts and other creatures, as the sun and the moon; but they worship only the creature of man, who was made to the image of God, and by whom God hath wrought great and marvellous works upon the earth. To whom we answer by the words of our law, that all idolatry is forbidden us; the commandment forbiddeth not one thing more than another, neither giveth greater liberty for one thing than for another; but saith in these words, Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor serve them. Whatsoever it be, it is forbidden by our commandment. And if any creature might be worshipped, reason would the sun and moon should have that honour done them; for they serve us to greatest purposes, and by them we reap daily profit. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Mosheh, Samuel, and Elizahu, with the rest of the prophets, were good men, and by them God wrought wonderful things, and yet we never worshipped any of them,

And we cannot think that this wisdom was or should have been hidden from all them, and all our fathers, if it had been so great wisdom in the sight of our God. They say unto us oftentimes, that they do not worship them as gods, but they worship God in them. Neither are the heathen, we say, that are round about us, so blinded with the imagination of their hearts, as that they think the stocks and stones carved, or the pictures which they paint themselves, to be God; but they are persuaded that the living God may be worshipped and served in them. And as for the creature that is worshipped, or in whom the living God is worshipped, whether it be better than another, and more to be accounted of than another, it is not that which maketh it false worship: but the commandment which saith, Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing. And yet those common christians go very far; for the christians of Spain and Portugal have it written in their books, as in one which they call Contemplationes del Idiota a la virgen Maria, that the virgin is the Lord's treasurer, and that she bestoweth gifts and graces upon her servants, to make them worthy dwelling houses for her blessed Son and the Holy Ghost: that her mercy oftentime pardoneth those whom the justice of her Son might condemn; that she doth plentifully enrich them that serve her, with the Holy Ghost, and defendeth them most mightily from the enemy; namely, from the world, the flesh, and the devil: and that our salvation lieth in her hands. But our law teacheth us that our God Jehovah is all-sufficient, and that all treasures are in his hands; he giveth to whom he listeth, and from whom he listeth, he holdeth back. He saith he will not give his glory to another; and what is more glorious to him than to be acknowledged of his creatures to be the only fountain of all goodness; to be our enlightening and salvation, that we may dwell confidently under the shadow of his wings, who will be called upon in the day of our necessity, and he will hear us?

And therefore, as that doctrine is contrary to our prophet, and is cast away of you which in this country believe in the man Jesus; so I have more willingly, and with a more ready mind, hearkened to the words of your teachers, and learned by God's good working to know more of our promised Messhiach, than our fathers believe; but no more than our scriptures most truly contain; being assured that, seeing you have the words of our prophets, and do

not follow strange gods, you are to be hearkened unto. For by our law, no prophet may be rejected but the false prophet, who seeketh to turn us away from the Lord our God to serve other gods. And therefore, as I have learned by the words of your teachers, comparing them with our law and prophets, that our promised king and Messhiach is not a prince of this world, as one that hath to establish a temporal kingdom amongst us, but a spiritual; whose power and might consisteth in governing us by his Spirit, and forgiving the sins of Israel, and taking away the iniquities of Jacob, bearing in his own body the chastisement of our peace, that is, the chastisement that worketh and getteth us peace, as our prophets tell us—so I confess and acknowledge that he is already come, and that it is he of whom our prophet spake, Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth; in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is the name whereby they shall call him, The Lord our righteousness. And therefore, being heartily sorry for my so long going astray from the faith of this man Jesus, after the evil leading of my countrymen and kinsmen after the flesh, for whose speedy turning to the Lord I most earnestly pray; and giving the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob hearty thanks for the working of his grace in me, by bringing me from the darkness wherein my fathers have walked these fifteen hundred years, into his marvellous light to behold the face of his Christ, our true and only Messhiach—I protest unto you, that I utterly forsake my former ways, and the steps that my nation walketh in, leaving with them not only that false looking for another Christ, but my name also which was given me at my circumcision, (being Jehuda,) though in itself it be honourable; desiring that as I have received a new gift from the Lord, so in token thereof I may be called Nathanael; the sum of which gift, so far forth as he hath as yet revealed unto me, I here confess and acknowledge before you, that you may be witnesses with me of my faith in Christ that Messhiach, whom you believe in, and I receive for my Redeemer.

I confess with my mouth, and believe from my heart, that the man Jesus Christ, born of the virgin Mary, according to the foretelling of our prophets, and so, by the flesh he took of her, descending of the seed and stock of

David, for the continuance of his kingdom for ever over his people Israel, is the undoubted Messhiach, promised to our fathers, for the redemption and delivery of us his people out of the captivity we are in; which is not the captivity of Egypt or Babylon, or the captivity of the Roman empire, which we have justly deserved by the shedding of his innocent blood, through betraying and delivering him into the hands of the wicked to be crucified; but the captivity of sin, death, and damnation, prefigured unto us by our prophets under the shadow of the foresaid captivities of Egypt and Babylon. Which things because our fathers understood not, through ignorance of our scriptures, they did all those things which they wrought against that Holy One, our only Redeemer and Saviour; and have by that means estranged themselves and their posterity from the commonwealth indeed of Israel; that is to say, from the communion of the saints and children of God, which make profession of this man's name, and believe in truth that he is the very Christ, and only anointed Saviour of the world, who was so fore-promised from the beginning of the world.

And therefore, in full assurance of this full and perfect, and last delivery wrought for all them that are both nigh and far off, that is, for all that believe by that man Jesus, whom our prophets forenamed Immanuel, which is by interpretation, God with us; resting and reposing myself in this Horn of salvation, I look for no other Messhiach and Christ to come hereafter, as the rest of my kindred and people do, blinded through unbelief; being myself throughly persuaded by the prophets, that this is that Shiloh which was to come; that Angel of the Lord whom Elias the Thesbite, as we call him, was to go before, that is to say, John the Baptist, whom some of our prophets call, The voice in the wilderness, sent to prepare the ways of this our King, and Holy One our Redeemer; converting by his preaching the fathers' hearts unto the children, and the simple and unbelievers to the obedience of the righteous. For which cause also (as our words mean) he was by our fathers called Thesby, which is by interpretation, the servant of God to work repentance by.

And because this man, who was appointed from the beginning to be our Redeemer and deliverer out of the captivity of sin, was to work that great and marvellous redemption by his own death, (as was prefigured unto us by our passover and all our sacrifices, and also declared by our

prophets,) which he performed in his time appointed, being delivered into the hands of Pontius Pilate by our scribes and pharisees, to be put to that shameful death of the cross, whereof it is written in our law, Cursed be the man that hangeth on a tree; which is so well known to all the house of Israel, that they call him even to this day in despite, Talui, which is by interpretation, Hanged. Therefore, I also confess and believe that our sacrifices commanded in our law, by the hand of Mosheh, are at an end, and not to be used any more; being indeed but shadows of this body and truth which was performed in and by this our Immanuel, God with us. And therefore, I most willingly and freely renounce that doctrine of our elders, which teacheth us that our delivery forespoken of by our prophets is or shall be a restoring of us into our country and land of Judea, there to keep such ordinances and statutes, touching sacrifices of goats and calves, as were commanded us by the hand of Mosheh; being assured by the scriptures, that the Jerusalem which we shall be restored unto, is the kingdom of heaven, from which we were cast through unbelief, and are again restored unto it, as many of us as believe in this our Immanuel by the same God with us; whose blood hath opened us the way, and not the blood of our goats and calves, which were figures of this true and perfect sacrifice wrought by this man upon the cross, by virtue whereof they were available to so many of our fathers as did believe, for the remission of sins, and delivery out of that thraldom of the soul; and not out of the captivity either of Egypt or Babylon, or this wherein we and our forefathers have justly been, ever since the unrighteous shedding of this righteous man's blood.

Moreover, I confess with my mouth, and believe in my heart, that this same man Jesus, the son of that virgin, is not only man but God, both God and man; so called by our prophets, Immanuel, God with us: God, not made in time, nor after a season, but God from the beginning and without beginning, who was before the sun, and shall be after the sun, as our prophet David saith. By whom, as all things were made from the beginning, so are they preserved by his mighty power; and of his kingdom there shall be none end. Who, as he is called the Word of God his Father, so were all the prophets given and sent by Him, the only true interpreter and messenger of his Father's will; which he revealed from time to time to his people by the

hands of his prophets, as he thought best; ordering the measure of the revelation of Himself, as might best stand with the time of his coming when he was to be presented unto the world. And therefore he opened Himself unto our fathers in the times and days of our prophets, but darkly under types and figures, laying a vail, as it were, over our eyes, to the end we should be more earnest and painful in seeking after him. But in the fulness of time, when the season appointed by his Father was come, then he revealed himself fully and plainly, preaching both himself the kingdom of heaven, and sending forth his apostles to do the same; upon whom therefore he poured out the Holy Ghost, which is called the Spirit, so performing that which our elders set down as a proper mark of the coming of our Messhiach: namely, that in that day our prophets should cease, and the Holy Ghost should be given to ignorant and unlearned men; which we have seen fulfilled in the eyes of all Israel. And therefore I receive this word of God, which hath been from those days called the New Testament, as the true and undoubted word of God, uttered by the same Spirit which spake in our prophets.

Again, I confess with my mouth, and believe in my heart, that the Holy Ghost and Spirit, who was the Director of all our prophets, and was also promised by this man Jesus, our Immanuel, to be always with his people, to lead them into all truth unto the world's end, is also very God, one in substance and nature with God the Father and God the Son; but another in person, as the Father and the Son differ in person. So that there are not three Gods, but one God: neither one only person, but three persons. Which person of the Holy Ghost, as he hath been from the beginning of the world, by the everlasting counsel and determinate purpose of God, the Director and Governor of his church, that is to say, the assembly and company of his people, agreeing together in unity of faith and doctrine; and did therefore, for the bringing and maintenance of them into the unity of this faith and doctrine, deliver unto them from God divers rites and ceremonies; divers in outward show, but one selfsame in effect and substance, having only for their ground and matter this man and God, Jesus Christ our Immanuel—so doth he continue still to nourish us up in the same, and therefore commendeth to us, to be kept for an everlasting covenant, two sacraments, the one of baptism, the other of the Lord's supper; which two,

the will of our Lord and God was and is, should be in place of the circumcision and passover commanded to our forefathers. Which I steadfastly believe and religiously confess, and therefore, renouncing the former, (as also all other rites and ceremonies of the law,) being but shadows of the body which is now performed and come, I most humbly desire to be received into the fellowship of these sacraments; that as it hath pleased our Lord God and heavenly Father, to reveal his Son unto me, and to graft me again into the stock of my father Abraham, from whence I was cast out through unbelief with my forefathers, the stiff-necked and disobedient, so I may through baptism be received and taken for a member of this our Messhiach; whom I confess and acknowledge to be the only promised Christ, in whom, whosoever will have life must be saved; whereof I look and trust to be a partaker in the resurrection of the righteous, which shall be at the coming again of this our Immanuel, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

NOTE REFERRED TO, PAGES 352—354.

The careful researches of chronologists and expositors of scripture since the time of Fox, as well as previously to the period when he wrote, have been directed to the period of seventy weeks mentioned by Daniel. Without involving the reader in a lengthened consideration of their various arguments, his attention may be called to the following extract from Faber's "Sacred Calendar of Prophecy;" to which some notes explanatory of the chronology are added.

"The seventy years of the Babylonian captivity of Judah, itself an eminent chronological and circumstantial type of the church's captivity among the Gentiles during the term of the seven prophetic times, commenced in the year before Christ 606,* and ended B. C. 536.†

"The seventy prophetic weeks, determined to make an expiation for sin by the death of Christ upon the cross, commenced in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or in the year before Christ 458,‡ and terminated even to a

* When Nebuchadnezzar made Jehoiakim his tributary, and carried Daniel, with others, captives, and many of the sacred vessels, to Babylon, 2 Kings xxiv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. Dan. i. 1—3.

† When Cyrus succeeded to the empire, and proclaimed liberty to the captive Jews, Ezra i. 1. Isaiah xiv. 1—6.

‡ Esther ii. Ezra vii.

month with the crucifixion, in the year after Christ 33; the subincluded seven weeks, which reach from the going forth of the decree to the completion of the figurative holy city, commenced in the year before Christ 458, and terminated in the year before Christ 409;* and the subincluded sixty-nine weeks, which reach to the opening of the gospel dispensation by John the baptist, commenced in the year before Christ 458, and terminated in the year after Christ 26. The single week, during which the new covenant is made, and the old one disannulled, commenced in the year after Christ 26,† and terminated in the year after Christ 33. The insulated half week, during which the sacrifice and meat offering are abolished by the desolating abomination of the Romans, commenced in the middle of January, in the year after Christ 67, and terminated in the middle of July, in the year after Christ 70."‡

The Jewish writers have always felt the force of the prophecy of seventy weeks as applied to Jesus Christ, and have endeavoured to explain away the obvious application of it to him. One of the most recent, David Levi, in doing this has undesignedly verified the interpretation of it as concerning our blessed Lord. See Hale's Analysis of Sacred Chronology, vol. ii. p. 514.

* Nehemiah's conclusion of his work of Reformation, Neh. xiii. 23-31.
† The commencement of John the Baptist's ministry.
‡ When Jerusalem was destroyed.

Note to page 361.

Dr. Owen (see his treatise, On the Mortification of Sin in Believers, ch. ix.) has the following remark. "When a man's conscience shall deal with him, when God shall rebuke him for the sinful distemper of his heart, if he, instead of applying himself to get that sin pardoned in the blood of Christ, and mortified by his Spirit, shall relieve himself by any such other evidences as he hath, or thinks himself to have, and so disentangle himself from under the yoke that God was putting on his neck, his condition is very dangerous, his wound hardly curable. Thus THE JEWS under the galling of their own consciences, and the convincing preaching of our Saviour, *supported themselves with this, that they were Abraham's children, and on that account accepted with God;* and so countenanced themselves in all abominable wickedness to their utter ruin." See History of the Church of Christ, vol. vi. ch. 7. § 8. which contains a summary account of Luther's controversy with the Jews, from Seckendorf. In the disputations between the Reformers and the Jews, very strong expressions were used on both sides. Luther found that no impression was to be made upon them by reasoning concerning the mysteries of the Christian faith, and recommended direct arguments, grounded upon the evident effects of the divine wrath experienced by their nation; that for fifteen centuries they had been without a government and a priesthood, as Christ had foretold, with other similar topics. Seckendorf, Com. de Luth. iii. § 111.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

JOHN BALE

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS VOCATION TO THE BISHOPRIC OF OSSORY IN IRELAND, AND HIS PERSECUTIONS IN THE SAME.

ALSO EXTRACTS FROM

THE IMAGE OF BOTH CHURCHES, AFTER THE MOST WONDERFUL AND HEAVENLY REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

JOHN BALE,

Bishop of Ossory.

John Bale was born in 1495, at Cove, a small village near Dunwich, in Suffolk. At twelve years of age he was entered in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich, and from thence went to Jesus College, in Cambridge. While a papist he was very zealous for that way of religion. He says, "I wandered in utter ignorance of mind both at Norwich and Cambridge, having no tutor or patron, till the word of God showing forth, the churches began to return to the true fountain of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the lord Wentworth, as by that centurion who declared Christ to be the Son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity; and immediately, through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain, to the flowery and fertile valley of the gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock."

Bale openly showed his renunciation of the errors of popery by marrying. He soon became an object of hatred to the Romish clergy, but was protected by lord Cromwell. The confession of William Broman, accused of heresy in 1536, states, that "one Bale, a white (or Carmelite) friar, sometime prior of Doncaster, taught him about three years ago, that Christ would dwell in no church that was made of lime and stones by men's hands, but only in heaven above, and in men's hearts in earth." Strype also relates that Bale was a zealous decrier of the papal supremacy and worship between 1530 and 1540; adding, "Sometimes we find him in the north, where Lee, the archbishop, imprisoned him, and sometimes in the south, where Stokesly, bishop of London, met with him. At Cromwell's death he thought it not safe for him to abide any longer in England, especially as persecution grew so hot upon the six articles; so he, with his wife and family, went beyond sea, and tarried in Germany eight years."

During Bale's abode on the continent he wrote several of his works, particularly his elucidation of the martyrdom of Anne Askew. He says, "I have expelled myself for ever from mine own native country, kindred, friends, and acquaintance, which are the great delights of this life, and am well contented, for Jesus Christ's sake, and for the comfort of my brethren there, to suffer poverty, penury, abjection, reproof, and all that comes besides."

After Edward VI. had succeeded to the throne, Bale was recalled to England, and presented to the living of Bishop's Stoke, in Hampshire. In 1552 he was nominated to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. The circumstances attending this appointment are related by himself as follows:

"Upon the 15th day of August, A. D. 1552, being the first day of my deliverance, as God would, from a dangerous ague, which had holden me long afore; in rejoicing that his majesty was come in progress to Southampton, which was five miles from my parsonage of Bishop's Stoke, within the same county, I took my horse about ten of the clock, for very weakness scarce able to sit on him, and so came thither. Betwixt two and three of the clock the same day, I drew towards the place where his majesty was, and stood in the open street right against the gallery. Anon my friend, John Philpot, a gentleman, and one of the king's privy-chamber, called unto him two more of his companions, who, in moving their heads towards me, showed me most friendly countenances. By one of these the king having information that I was there in the street, he marvelled thereof, for it had been told him a little afore that I was both dead and buried. With that his grace came to the window, and earnestly beheld me, a poor weak creature, as though he had had upon me, so simple a subject, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care.

"In the very same instant, as I have been since that time credibly informed, his grace called unto him the lords of his most honourable council, so many as were then present, willing them to appoint me to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. Whereunto they all agreeably consenting, commanded the letters of my first calling thereunto to be written and sent me. The next day, the 16th of August, they very favourably subscribed the same.

"Thus was I called, in a manner from death, to this office, without my expectation, or yet knowledge thereof. And thus have ye my vocation to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. I pass over my earnest refusal thereof, a month after that, on the king's majesty's return to Winchester; where, as I alleged (as I then thought) my lawful impediments, of poverty, age, and sickness, within the bishop's house there; but they were not accepted. Then resorted I to the court at London, within six weeks after, according to the tenour of the aforesaid letter; and within six days had all things performed pertaining to my election and full confirmation, freely without any manner of charges or expenses, whereof I much marvelled.

"On the 19th day of December I took my journey from Bishop's Stoke with my books and stuff towards Bristol, where I tarried twenty-six days for passage, and divers times preached in that worshipful city, at the instant desire of the citizens. Upon the 21st day of January we entered into the ship; I, my wife, and one servant: and, being but two nights and two days upon the sea, so merciful was the Lord unto us, we arrived most prosperously at Waterford, in the coldest time of the year.

"In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests. The communion or supper of the Lord was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneelings and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of. There wailed they over the dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ and redeemed by his passion, but that they must come after and help at a pinch with *requiem eternam*, to deliver them out of hell by their sorrowful sorceries. When I had beholden these heathenish behaviours, I said to a senator of that city, that I well perceived that Christ had there no bishop, neither yet the king's majesty of England any faithful officer of the mayor, in suffering such horrible blasphemies. The next day after, I rode towards Dublin, and rested the night following in a town called Knocktover, in the house of master Adam Walshe, my general commissary for the whole diocese of Ossory.

"At supper the parish priest, called sir Philip, was very serviceable, and, in familiar talk, described unto me the house of the white friars, which sometime was in that town; concluding in the end, that the last prior thereof, called William, was his natural father. I asked him, if that were in marriage? He made me answer, No. For that was, he said, against his profession. Then counselled I him, that he never should boast of it more. Why, saith he, it is an honour in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or a priest, to father. With that I greatly marvelled, not so much of his unshamefaced talk, as I did that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment, thinking in process, for my part, to reform it. I came at the last to Dublin, where I found my companion Hugh Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh elect, and my old friend, David Cooper, parson of Calan. Much people greatly rejoiced at our coming thither, thinking, by our preachings, the pope's superstitions would diminish, and true christian religion increase."

Some difficulties were thrown in the way of the bishop's consecration, by the papists, who wished that it should have been according to the Romish ritual; but Bale firmly opposing this, the ceremonial as lately directed by king Edward, was used.

Bishop Bale endeavoured earnestly to fulfil the duties of his new charge, but met with much opposition from the papists. It is described by himself in his work entitled, "The Vocation of John Bale to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland; his persecutions in the same, and his final deliverance," which presents a painful delineation of the state of Ireland at that period.

Bale proceeds: "Within two days after my consecration was I sick again, so that no man thought I should live; which malady held me till after Easter. Yet, in the meantime, I found a way to be brought to Kilkenny, where I preached every Sunday and

holyday in Lent, till the Sunday after Easter was fully past, never feeling any manner of grief of my sickness for the time I was in the pulpit; whereat many men, and myself also, greatly marvelled. Neither had I, for all that time space, any mind to call for any temporal profits, which was afterwards to my no small hinderance. From that day of my consecration I traded with myself, by all possibility, to set forth that doctrine which God charged his church with ever since the beginning; and thought therewith in my mind also that I had rather that Etna should swallow me up, than to maintain those ways in religion which might corrupt the same. For my daily desire is, in that everlasting school to behold the eternal Son of God, both here and after this life; and not only to see the fathers, prophets, and apostles therein, but also, for love of that doctrine, to enjoy their blessed fellowship hereafter. And so much the rather I acted thus with myself, that I saw then the king's majesty, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the honourable lords of the council, so fervently bent that way, as to seek the people's health in the same. I thought it thereupon no less than my bound duty to show myself faithful, studious, and diligent in that so chargeful a function.

"My first proceedings in that doing were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel of salvation. To acknowledge and believe that there is but one God; and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other men's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone, for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the christian church; and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number.

"I preached the gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God; I maintained the political order by doctrine, and moved the commons always to obey their magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests; for that I had said among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped,* were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added, that their office, by Christ's strait commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing. Much were the priests offended also for that I, in my preachings, willed them to have wives of their own, and to leave their unshamefaced doings. But hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious men among them: 'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our

* The consecrated wafers used in the communion.

livings?' Think ye not that these men were inspired? either yet had knowledge of some secret mischief working in England? I, for my part, have not a little since that time marvelled when it hath fallen to my remembrance. Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage, neither yet cause them which were known for unshamefaced life, to leave their abominable conduct, though I most earnestly laboured it.

"The Lord, therefore, of his mercy, send discipline with doctrine into his church. For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other side, discipline without doctrine maketh either hypocrites or else desperate doers. I have not written this in dispraise of all the priests of Kilkenny or thereabout; for my hope is that some of them by this time are fallen to repentance, though not many.

"In the week after Easter, when I had preached twelve sermons among them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentance and necessary belief of the gospel; in the true worshipping of one God, our eternal Father, and no more; and in that hope of one Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and no more; I departed from Kilkenny to another place of mine, five miles off, called Holme's Court, where I remained till the Ascension day. In the mean time came sorrowful news unto me that M. Hugh Goodacre, the archbishop of Armagh, that godly preacher and virtuous learned man, was poisoned at Dublin, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices. And letters by and by were directed unto me, by my special friends from thence, to be aware of the like in my diocese of Ossory; which made me peradventure more circumspect than I should have been. Upon the Ascension day I preached again at Kilkenny, likewise on Trinity Sunday, and on St. Peter's day at Midsummer.

"On the 25th of July, the priests were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heaps from tavern to tavern, to seek the best Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, which are their special drinks there. They caused all their cups to be filled in with *Gaudeamus in dolio*, the mystery thereof only known to them, and at that time to none other else.—Which was, that king Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their masking masses again. As we have in St. John's Revelation, That they which dwell on the earth (as do our earthly-minded massmongers) should rejoice and be glad when God's true witnesses were once taken away, and should send gifts one to another for gladness, because they rebuked them of their wicked doings, Rev. xi. For ye must consider that the priests are commonly the first that receive such news. The next day following, a very wicked justice, called Thomas Hoth, with the lord Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedral church, requiring to have a communion in the honour of St. Anne. The priests made him answer, that I had forbidden that celebration, saving only upon the

Sundays; as I had, indeed, for the abominable idolatries that I had seen therein. 'I discharge you,' saith he, 'of obedience to your bishop in this point, and command you to do as ye have done heretofore;'—which was, to make of Christ's holy communion an idolatrous mass, and to suffer it to serve for the dead, clean contrary to the christian use of the same.

"Thus was the wicked justice not only a violator of Christ's institution, but also a contemner of his prince's earnest commandment, and a provoker of the people, by his ungracious example, to do the like. This could he do, with other mischiefs more, by his long being there by a whole month's space; but for murders, thefts, idolatries, and abominable licentiousness, where withal that nation abounded, for that time he sought no redress, neither appointed any correction. The priests thus rejoicing that the king was dead, and that they had been that day confirmed in their superstitious obstinacy, resorted to the aforesaid false justice the same night at supper, to gratify him with Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, for that he had been so friendly unto them, and that he might still continue in the same. The next day after was the lady Jane Guildford proclaimed their queen, with solemnity of processions, bonfires, and banquets; the said justice, as I was informed, sore blaming me for my absence that day; for, indeed, I much doubted that matter.

"So soon as it was there rumoured abroad that the king was departed from this life, the ruffians of that wild nation not only rebelled against the English captains, as their custom in such changes hath been always, chiefly no English deputy being within the land, but also they conspired the very deaths of so many English men and women as were left therein alive; minding, as they then stoutly boasted it, to have set up a king of their own. And, to cause their wild people to bear the more hate to our nation, very subtlely, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noised over all, that the young earl of Ormond, and Barnaby, the chief of Upper Ossory's son, were both slain in the court at London. Upon this wily practice of mischief, they raged without order in all places, and assaulted the English forts every where. And at one of them, by a subtle train, they got out nine of our men, and slew them.

"On the 13th of August a gentlewoman, the wife of Matthew King, having a castle not far off, her husband then being at London, fled with her family and goods in carts towards the foresaid Kilkenny; and in the highway was spoiled of all, to her very petticoat, by the kerns and the gallowglasses of the forenamed chief of Upper Ossory, Michael Patrick, and of the lord Mountgarret, who ought rather to have defended her. In this outrage had she, after long conflict with those enemies, four of her company slain, besides other mischiefs more.

"On the 20th day of August was the lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised, of

processions, musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre in procession, it were too much to write!

"I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereunto, that I was not Moses's minister, but Christ's; I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses's sacraments and ceremonial shadows, Gal. v. With that I took Christ's testament in my hand, and went to the Market Cross, the people in great number following. There took I Romans xiii. declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the mean time the prelates had got two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one. The young men, in the forenoon, played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the Market Cross, with organ-playings, and songs very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of Saint John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptizing, and of his temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there.*

"On the thursday next following, which was St. Bartholomew's day, I preached again among them, because the prebendaries and other priests there had made their boasts that I should be compelled to recant all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I took this saying of St. Paul for my theme: 'I am not ashamed of the gospel.' And why? 'For it is the power of God unto salvation, to all them that believe it,' Rom. i. Then declared I unto them all that I had taught there since my first coming thither, the justice Hoth being present; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped; and that our Christ was but one Christ, and ought alone to be trusted to for our redemption from sin. I earnestly charged the people to rest upon these two principles firmly, as they would answer it at the dreadful day, and not to suffer themselves to be led, by a contrarious doctrine of deceitful teachers, into any other belief from thenceforth. Also, concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, wherein they had been most prodigiously abused, through the unsatiable covetousness of the priests, I required them very reverently to take it, as a sacrament only of Christ's death, whereby we are redeemed, and made innocent members of his mystical body, and not to worship it as their god, as they had done, to the utter derogation of his heavenly honour. And, as I came in the usual prayer to remembrance of the dead, I willed them to give hearty thanks to God for their redemption in Christ, largely declaring, that the souls

* These "mysteries," or scenic representations from scripture, were very frequent in the Romish church. Bale, and some others, composed sacred dramas more according to the doctrines of truth. Those here mentioned were written by Bale

of the righteous were in the hand of his mercy, without cruel torment, and that the priests, with all their masses and funeral exequies, could add nothing to their redemption, if they had been otherwise bestowed.

"After the prayer, I took the gospel of the day, Blessed are the eyes that see what ye behold, Luke x. wherein I was occasioned to speak of certain degrees of men, as of kings, prophets, lawyers, justiciaries, and so forth: As, that the kings were desirous to see Christ, the prophets to embrace him, the swelling lawyers to rise up against him and to tempt him, and the ambitious justiciaries to toy with him and to mock him. The wounded man to have need of him, the priest to show no compassion, the Levite to minister no mercy, and, last of all, the contemned Samaritan to exercise all the offices of pity, love, benevolence, and liberal mercy, upon the same wounded creature; as, to resort to him, favourably to see him, with leisure to behold him, to have compassion on him, to bind up his wounds, to pour in oil and wine, to set him on his own beast, to bring him to a place of comfort; finally, to succour him, and to pay his whole charges.

"The same day, I dined with the mayor of the town, whom they name their sovereign, called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly, which is a rare thing in that land. In the end of our dinner certain priests resorted, and began very hotly to dispute with me concerning their purgatory and suffrages for the dead. And as I had alleged the scriptures proving Christ's sufficiency for the soul's discharge before God, without their dirty deservings, they brought forth, as seemed to them, contrary allegations, that there should appear no truth in those scriptures. As St. Paul prophesied of them, Rom. i. That such as they were, should seek to turn the verity of God into a lie. And when I had once deprehended them in that thievery, and agreed both our alleged scriptures, to the maintenance of my first principle, to their manifest reproach, I demanded of them, what a christian man's office was, when such a scripture was uttered as neither man nor angel was able to deny any truth thereof? But they made me no answer. Then said I unto them, 'Ye have set me forth a new lesson, and taught me this day to know a good man from a hypocrite, and to discern a true christian from a wicked papist. The good man,' said I, 'believeth a truth in the scriptures, the hypocrite denieth it, the christian embraceth it, the papist doubteth and disputeth against it; as the devil in the wilderness with Christ, when he sought by one scripture to confound another.'

"The next day I departed from thence, and went home with my company to Holme's Court again. Where as I had knowledge, the next day following, that the priests of my diocese, specially one sir Richard Routh, treasurer of the church of Kilkenny, and one sir James Joyce, a familiar chaplain of mine, by the help of one Barnaby Bolgar, my next neighbour and my tenant, at the said Holme's Court, had hired certain kerns of the lord Mountgarret, and of the baron of Upper Ossory, whom they

knew to be most desperate thieves and murderers, to slay me. And I am in full belief, that this was not without all their knowledge also; for so much as they were so desirous of my lands in diverse quarters, and could neither obtain them by their own importunate suits, nor yet by the friendship of others.

"On the thursday after, which was the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny, by procurement of justice Hoth, blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstitions of the bishop of Rome; to the utter contempt of Christ and his holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being therewith offended: they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy waterstock, cross, and censers: they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis,* and the rest of the Latin Litany: they chattered it, they chanted it, with great noise and devotion: they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.*

"For they may, now from thenceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them, 2 Pet. ii. They may make the witless sort believe, that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else. They may now, without check, live in all evil life, as they have done always. I write not this without a cause; for why, there were some among them, which boasted both of this and much more too vain to be told. And, when they were demanded, How they would be discharged before God? They made answer, that ear confession was able to burnish them again, and to make them as white as snow, though they thus offended ever so oft. And one of them, for example, was the drunken bishop of Galway, who, besides these uncomely brags, furiously boasted in the house of one Martin, a faithful Italian and servant to the earl of Ormond, and in other houses more, that the bishop of Rome was the head supreme of the christian church in earth, and should so be proclaimed in Ireland, the said Martin, as God's true friend, rebuking him for it. The exercise of this bishop is none other, but to gad from town to town over the English part, confirming young children for two-pence a piece, without examination of their christian belief, contrary to the christian ordinances of England, and at night to drink Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ.

"On the friday next following, which was the 8th day of September, five of my household servants, Richard Foster, a deacon, Richard Headley, John Cage, an Irish horse-groom, and a young

* A proverbial expression.

maid of sixteen years of age, went out to make hay about half a mile off, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, after they had served God according to the day. And, as they were come to the entrance of that meadow, the cruel murderers, to the number of more than a score, leaped out of their lurking bushes, with swords and with darts, and cowardly slew them all unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy. This did they, in their wicked fury, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long before, yea, a whole month space they say, and sped not of their purpose concerning me. They feloniously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all master Cooper's horses, who that time sojourned with me for safeguard of his life, to the number of seven, driving them afore them. In the afternoon, about three of the clock, the good sovereign of Kilkenny, having knowledge thereof, resorted to me with a hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and so with great strength brought me that night to the town, the young men singing psalms and other godly songs all the way, in rejoice of my deliverance.

"As we were come to the town, the people, in great number, stood on both sides of the way, both within the gates and without, with candles lighted in their hands, shouting out praises to God for delivering me from the hands of these murderers. The priests the next day, to colour their mischief, caused it to be noised all the country over, that it was by the hand of God that my servants were slain, for that they had broken, they said, the great holy day of our lady's nativity.* But I would fain know what holy days those blood-thirsty hypocrites and malicious murderers kept, who had hired their cruel kerns to do that mischief? Oh! abominable traitors, both to God and to all godly order. Ye here commend murder under a colour of false religion, to hide your own mischiefs to the eyes of the people; but the eyes of God ye cannot deceive. Your horrible slaughter must now be God's doing, and yet was it the devil that set you to work! Ye prate here of the observance of the holy day, who never yet kept the holy day as it should be kept. For ye never yet preached the word of God truly, neither ministered the sacraments rightly, neither yet taught the people to honour God purely, and to keep his commandments inviolably, which are the only keepings of the holy days.

"On the day next following, which was saturday, in the afternoon, the aforesaid treasurer, a man unlearned, and of vile life, resorted to me with a number of priests, to tempt me, like as Satan did Christ in the wilderness, saving that Satan to Christ offered stones, and that tempting treasurer both apples and wine. And, as they had then compassed me in round about, the said treasurer proponed unto me, that they were all fully minded to have solemn exequies for king Edward, lately departed, like as the queen's highness had had them in England. I asked them

* The church of Rome teaches that holy days and saints' days are to be observed as strictly, or even more so, than the sabbath.

how that was? They made me answer, with a requiem mass and dirge. Then asked I of them again, Who should sing the mass? And they answered me, that it was my bounden duty to do it, being their bishop. Then said I unto them, 'Massing is an office appointed of that antichrist, the bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so long as I shall live. But if ye will have me there to do that office, which Christ, the Son of God, hath earnestly commanded, which is to preach his holy gospel, I will do it with all my heart.'

"'No,' said they, 'we will have a solemn mass, for so had the queen.' Said I, 'Then must ye go seek out some other chaplain; for, truly, of all generations, I am no mass-monger; for, of all occupations, methinks it is most foolish; for there standeth the priest disguised, like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall in a foreign language. If he turn his face to them, it is either to receive the offering, either to desire them to give him a good word, with *Orate pro me fratres*, (pray for me brethren,) for he is a poor brother of theirs; either to bid them God speed, with *Dominus vobiscum*, (the Lord be with you,) for they get no part of his banquet; either else to bless them with the bottom of the cup, with *Benedicto Dei*, (the blessing of God,) when all the breakfast is done.* And of these feats,' said I, 'can I now little skill.' With that the treasurer, being in his fumes, stoutly demanded a determinate answer, as though he came not thither without authority. Then suspected I somewhat the wickedness of justice Hoth, and such other; notwithstanding, I asked him once again, What profit he thought the king's soul to have of those funeral exequies? Then answered one of the priests, that God knew well enough what he had to do. 'Yet you must appoint him!' said I. 'If these poor suffrages be a way for him to heaven, and that he cannot go thither without them, ye are much to blame that ye have deferred them so long. Ye had a commandment, the last saturday, of the justice Hoth, to have solemnized them that night, and the next day after. But the devil, which that day danced at Thomas Town, (for they had a procession with pageants,) and the Aqua Vitæ and Rob Davie withal, would not suffer you then to do them. I desire you, considering that the last sunday ye deferred them to see the devil dance at Thomas Town, that ye will also this sunday defer them, till such time as I send to the queen's commissioners at Dublin, to know how to be discharged of the oath which I made to the king and his council for abolishment of that popish mass; for I am loth to incur the danger of perjury.' With that, after a few words more, they seemed content, and so departed.

* The different postures and actions observed by the priest in celebrating mass, are very numerous, and are all especially directed. They are delineated in some of the Romish books of devotion to the number of thirty-five. See Daily Devotions, or the most profitable manner of hearing Mass. Dublin, 1824.

"The next day came thither a proclamation, that they which would hear masses, should be suffered so to do, and they that would not, should not thereunto be compelled. Thus was that building clearly overthrown, and that practice of blasphemy would not take at that time, as God would. And, as I had continued there certain days, I chanced to hear of many secret mutterings, that the priests would not so leave me, but were still conspiring my death. It was also noised abroad, by the bishop of Galway, and others, that the antichrist of Rome should be taken again for the supreme head of the church of Ireland. And, to declare a contemptuous change from religion to superstition again, the priests had suddenly set up all the altars and images in the cathedral church. Beholding therefore so many inconveniencies to ensue, and so many dangers toward, having also, which was worst of all, no English deputy or governor within the land to complain to for remedy, I shook the dust off my feet against those wicked priests, according to Christ's commandment, Matt. x. that it might stand against them as a witness at the day of judgment. The next day, early in the morning, by help of friends, I conveyed myself away to the castle of Lechline, and so to the city of Dublin, where I, for a certain time, among friends remained."

This account of the proceedings of the papists in Ireland, in opposition to the protestant reformation, is an important document in the history of that period.

Bale then relates his escape from Dublin in a small trading vessel, but before they had lost sight of land, he was taken by the pilot and commander of a Flemish vessel of war, who carried him on board their own ship, and robbed him of all his property. The Fleming was driven by adverse weather into St. Ives, in Cornwall, where an attempt was made to cause Bale to be suspected of treason. This failed, but after a further cruise of several days, the ship came to Dover, where he was again endangered by a false accusation. The captain was about to deliver him to the papists, but was prevailed upon, by Bale's offer of a sum of money, to proceed to Holland, where he obtained his liberty on payment of thirty pounds.

Bale then proceeded to Switzerland, and continued to reside at Basle during the reign of queen Mary. After her decease, he returned to England. In January, 1560, he was appointed to a prebend in Canterbury cathedral. He died in that city in November, 1563, aged sixty-eight.

Bale was well skilled in divinity as well as in general learning, and was an able preacher. Previously to his conversion from popery, which appears to have taken place in 1529, he for some time taught the civil law at Cambridge. He was a voluminous writer; some of his pieces were written before he left the Romish church, but the greater part subsequently. The latter were chiefly controversial and personal; they bore heavily upon

the papists, especially as he exposed the shameless lives of their ecclesiastics in the plainest terms. Their vices he attributes to the "idolatries" of their religion. With these he was well acquainted; speaking of the papists, he says, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times, I have been one of them myself." One of the most severe of his publications, "The Acts and unchaste Examples of religious Votaries, gathered out of their own legends and chronicles," he did not complete; probably he was advised to suppress the abominable and shameful details.

Bale's principal work was his "Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Great Britain," in which, with most persevering industry, he collected from a variety of sources, a particular account of the most remarkable actions, sayings, and writings of each author, especially showing the errors and enormities of the church of Rome. Of course very opposite views of this work have been taken by different writers; it will, however, always be considered and referred to as the foundation of English biography. Strype admits that it is not free from errors, and justly asks, What historical work can be so? but he speaks of Bale as "an author of high esteem, and of commendable diligence and integrity, to whom posterity is much indebted for preserving from utter perishing much of the English ecclesiastical history."

Bale's controversial and other smaller pieces must have had very considerable influence at that day. Their coarseness, which now disgusts the reader, was then hardly considered an objection. He was, as Strype observes, sharp and foul enough sometimes, when he had foul subjects to deal with—and such were indeed abundant in that day. The near view he had of these practices appears to have been the principal occasion of exciting his disgust to popery. It has been fairly observed that "he wrote with all the warmth of one who had escaped the flames." It is not surprising that many among those who never have seen the fires should think such delineations too vivid.

Among the most finished of Bale's writings, is "The Image of both Churches," being a comment on the Apocalypse, printed in the reign of Edward VI. Some extracts from this work are given in the following pages, as it appeared desirable to include in the present collection specimens of an author who was so efficient among the British Reformers; that work also conveys to us the the matured opinions of Bale, which he held in common with all the most eminent British Reformers, upon some subjects which have continually agitated the church of Christ. Bale must ever be respected for the bold and uncompromising manner in which he opposed the errors of the papacy, and the half measures of some among his associates; but the nature of his writings, though then very useful, gives him fewer claims upon our attention than most of the reformers at that period.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

IMAGE OF BOTH CHURCHES,

AFTER THE MOST WONDERFUL AND HEAVENLY REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST; CONTAINING A VERY FRUITFUL EXPOSITION OR PARAPHRASE UPON THE SAME, WHEREIN IT IS CONFERRED WITH THE OTHER SCRIPTURES AND MOST AUTHORIZED HISTORIES. COMPILED BY JOHN BALE, AN EXILE ALSO IN THIS LIFE FOR THE FAITHFUL TESTIMONY OF JESUS.

A. D. 1550.

From A Preface unto the Christian Reader.

So highly necessary, good christian reader, is the knowledge of St. John's Apocalypse or Revelation, to him that is a true member of Christ's church, as of any other book of the sacred bible. For in none of them all, are faithful diligent hearers and readers more blessed, nor more lively so declared, observing the contents thereof, than in this one book. No where is more clearly specified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be one everlasting God, and Jesus Christ to be the eternal Son of that living Father, (which are the first and chief grounds of our christian faith) than here. No where is the durable kingdom and priesthood of the said Jesus Christ more plenteously spread, more plainly proved, and more largely uttered than in this holy oracle. No where is the doctrine of health* more purely taught, faith more thoroughly commended, nor yet righteousness more highly rewarded than here. No where are heresies more earnestly condemned, blasphemous vices more vehemently rebuked, nor yet their just plagues more fiercely threatened, than in this compendious work.

Herein is the true christian church, which is the meek spouse of the Lamb without spot, in her right fashioned colours described. So is the proud church of hypocrites, the rose-coloured harlot, the paramour of antichrist, and the

* Salvation.

sinful synagogue of Satan, in her just proportion depainted, to the merciful forewarning of the Lord's elect. And that is the cause why I have entitled this book "THE IMAGE OF BOTH CHURCHES." Neither here spareth the Holy Ghost their hypocrisy or pride, their idolatry or harlotry, their covetousness or most cruel tyranny, with their other outrageous mischiefs. No, he toucheth them so nighly that we should the better know them, and be the more aware of them, that he showeth them to be such a spiritual sort as maketh daily merchandize of the bodies and souls of men. Let us never look to have a more open mark of that wicked generation, take heed of them if we list. He that will live godly in Christ, and be a patient sufferer; he that will stand in God's fear, and prepare himself to temptation; he that will be strong when adversity shall come, and avoid all assaults of antichrist and the devil, let him give himself wholly to the study of this prophecy.

Not one necessary point of belief is in all the other scriptures, that is not here also in one place or other. This heavenly book is the very complete sum and whole knitting up of the universal verities of the bible. All that Moses taught in the law, David in the psalms, and the prophets in their writings, concerning Christ's spiritual kingdom both here and above, meet for this present knowledge, are herein briefly comprehended. So is his eternal victory for us, over sin, death, hell, and the devil; with his perpetual clearness, authority, and empire, world without end, compendiously here expressed. He that knoweth not this book, knoweth not what the church is whereof he is a member. For herein is the estate thereof, from Christ's ascension to the end of the world, under pleasant figures and elegant tropes described, and no where else thoroughly but here, the times always respected. He that delighteth not to behold the condition of his own city, is thereunto no loving citizen. And after the true opinion of St. Augustine, either we are citizens in the new Jerusalem with Jesus Christ, or else in the old superstitious Babylon with antichrist the vicar of Satan. He that with diligence shall search that matter, specially in this present revelation, shall thoroughly perceive the certainty thereof.

Consider the dignity and worthiness of this most precious jewel that the Lord hath left here to our consolation. First, God, the eternal Father, gave it unto Christ his well beloved Son in our manhood. Christ, now glorified, committed it

unto the Holy Ghost, who is here called an angel or messenger. The Holy Ghost delivered it unto John, the peculiarly beloved disciple of Jesus. And John, last of all, left it with the universal church, to their christian erudition. Mark now if any other treatise of the sacred bible ever had so worthy a forward setting forth. This is not that it should be altogether neglected and not looked upon. No man lighteth a candle, saith Christ, and conveyeth it under a bushel, that men should not see thereby. Never was this gracious gift given of God to be hidden, as it hath been of long time, but to be opened to all the congregations. A more necessary doctrine to the christian erudition is not in the whole scriptures, all circumstances considered. For besides all that is before expressed, it containeth the universal troubles, persecutions, and crosses that the church suffered in the primitive spring, what it suffereth now, and what it shall suffer in the latter times by the subtle satellites of antichrist, which are the cruel members of Satan.

It manifesteth also what rewards, what crowns, and what glory the said congregation shall have, after this present conflict with the enemies, that the promised rewards might quicken the hearts of those that the torments feareth. This Apocalypse is called "A prophecy," and is much more excellent than all the other prophecies. Like as the light is more precious than the shadow, the verity than the figure, the new testament than the old, and the gospel than the law, so is this holy oracle more precious than they. That which Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, with all the other prophets warn aforehand, to follow concerning Christ and his church, this mystery declareth as effectually fulfilled. It is a full clearness to all the chronicles, and most notable histories which have been written since Christ's ascension, opening the true natures of their ages, times, and seasons. He that hath store of them, and shall diligently search them over, conferring the one with the other, time with time, and age with age, shall perceive most wonderful causes. For in the text are they only proponed in effect, and promised to follow in their seasons, and so ratified with the other scriptures, but in the chronicles they are evidently seen by all ages fulfilled. Yet is the text a light to the chronicles, and not the chronicles to the text.

Unto St. John the evangelist were these mysteries of the Holy Trinity revealed, as I showed before, such time as he was, by the emperor Domitian expelled for his preaching,

into the isle of Patmos, at the cruel complaints of the idolatrous priests and bishops, and of him so written and sent out of the same exile into the congregations. In one day were all these marvels seen, and in the same written, as witness divers expositors, and as seemeth agreeable to the text, which is a great wonder, in token that the Lord, as David reporteth him, is a very swift writer, which at the same earnestly occupied the hand of the said John. Of such a nature is the message of this book, with the other contents thereof, that from no place it is sent more freely, opened more clearly, nor told forth more boldly, than out of exile. And this should seem to be the cause thereof. In exile was it first written, as a little before is mentioned. In exile are the powers thereof most earnestly proved of them that have faith; as appeareth yet by Justinus the martyr, Militon the Asian, Irenæus, Hypolytus, Victorinus, and others who were the first expositors thereof in the primitive church, and in the end suffered the death of their bodies for it. And though it were the last book of the bible, and hath been ever since farthest from knowledge, and least regarded of them all, yet was it the first that received any man's exposition, as a book thought most necessary to be known of the christians.

[Bale then enumerates eighty-three writers on the Apocalypse, the greater part of whom he had consulted in preparing his work, and in the conclusion of the preface he refers more particularly to the church of Rome as pointed out in this book of scripture.

After the preface commences "a brief paraphrase or compendious elucidation upon the Apocalypse, in three parts." The first part contains the ten first chapters, the second, from the eleventh to the seventeenth. It would be uninteresting to the general reader to follow Bale through his exposition of the prophetical parts of the Apocalypse, and the historical references he has brought forward to elucidate them; he bestowed much attention upon this portion of his work, but subsequent events have thrown farther light upon many passages, and they are now understood more clearly than in his time. The following extracts are from the third part, where, as he states, "the two churches whereupon holdeth the whole argument of this book, are fully, by all due circumstances, described."]

Revelation xix. 11—13

After this, saith St. John, I saw heaven open. Very evident were the mysteries of the Lord unto me. I perceived, that through faith and meekness men might have great knowledge of the secrets of God. Heaven is open evermore, when God's word is freely taught. And it is closed up again when that is laid apart.

And behold, a pure white horse appeared in this mystery,

which betokeneth the true ministers or perfect preachers of the apostles' doctrine. The godly nature of these is, as is specified in Paul, to carry the gloricus verity of God over the world, and to publish it before the governors and peoples of the nations.

He that sat upon this white horse, or assisted these preachers by his Spirit, was the eternal Son of God, which hath evermore been called in the scriptures, Faithful of his promise, and true of his word. Righteous is the Lord, saith David, in all his ways, sure of his sayings, and perfect in all his works.

None other thing could he teach but the verity, who was the verity itself, nor yet they which had his godly spirit.

According to true equity hath he judged, in utterly condemning by his word the proud synagogue of Satan, and in exalting again his own meek spirited church.

First, in his own person, as a mighty warrior, did he battle with the devil, and by his death overcame him. Now, by his faithful preachers doth he righteously overturn his kingdom, by virtue of the same, graciously sending them forth in this latter age, under the type of this white horse. For his faithful servants are horses of courage, according to Habakkuk. Yea, whiter are they than either snow or milk, by their true belief, according to Jeremiah. I, saith the Lord, which am the word of righteousness, do valiantly battle to save you. For none other purpose fighteth he, but to the intent to preserve his elect.

The eyes of the horsemen were as the pure flame of fire, effectual, mighty, and clear. And these are not only his godly understanding and knowledge, whereby he perceiveth, discerneth, and judgeth clearly all things, but also the universal graces of the Holy Ghost. Upon one sure stone, saith Zechariah, which Paul called Christ, shall be seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God. With these eyes lighteneth he the hearts of all godly men, and kindleth their minds to the true love of God. His word is a lantern to their feet, and a light to their paths. Pure is his commandment, giving clearness to the sight. Open thou mine eyes, Lord, saith David, and then shall I well perceive the wonderful mysteries of thy doctrine.

Upon his head, saith St. John, were also many beautiful crowns, like as were before in figure upon the head of Jesus Josedech, the high priest, in token that Christ is the high King over all worlds, regions, and ages. For

he is the Lord of hosts, and the eternal King of glory; he was constituted a principal Governor of Sion, the holy hill of the Lord. He giveth prosperity to kings, and hath their victory in his hands. In him, as in their head, have all his elect members their crowns. Both with mercy shall he crown them, and also with loving kindness. For Peter hath he laid up a crown of incorruptible glory, for John a crown of life, for Paul a crown of righteousness, and so forth. For the whole conflict, victory, and triumph of all the saints is of Him alone.

He had a special name written, eternally appointed of God his Father, whose excellent majesty no creature understanding was able of his own industry to comprehend. Omnipotent was this name, marvellous, honourable, holy, and terrible, Adonai, Emmanuel, a name of salvation, and a name above all names. Yea, the Lord was his name, or the Lord our Righteous-maker.

No man knoweth this name, save he himself only, and they to whom he hath showed it. Neither flesh nor blood, Gentile nor Jew, hypocrite nor false christian, hath rightly known it. No, though they have said Lord, Lord. For none can say openly that Jesus is the Lord, but in the Holy Ghost, which openeth all godly verity. In this name is also registered the elect number of God's adoptive children, whom the world doth not know for his, nor ever will do.

And this Lord was beautifully adorned with a vesture fair and comely, but it was all dipt in blood. Some have taken this garment for his righteousness, wherein hath appeared all avengements over his enemies. Some have supposed it to be his church, all bloody in his martyrs and constant witnesses. But upon their side am I which have taken it for his flesh, for that did he put on as a vesture. So sore hath that vesture been striped, and so grievously wounded, that from the sole of the foot to the overmost part of the head was no whole place in it. This mighty Captain is he which came from Edom and Bozrah, his clothes besprinkled with red. His apparel is all spotted, much like unto his arrayment that treadeth in the wine-press. For his mortal nature suffered most painful death. Alone trod he down the wine-press in those days, and had no man to help him. Alone was he wounded for our offences, alone were our punishments laid upon him, with whose stripes we are now healed.

And his name, saith St. John, besides that is spoken

before, is the Eternal Word of God. He is called that Word which was in the beginning with God, which furnished the heavens above, which ordered all things beneath, and now, last of all, took flesh, restoring, enlightening, quickening, healing, and saving all that truly believe in him.

Chapter xx. ver. 1, 2.

In the end of these revelations afore rehearsed, saith St. John, saw I in a secret vision an angel of most singular beauty, betokening Jesus Christ, the Angel of God's eternal covenant. From the high heaven above came this Angel down unto the earth, sent of the everlasting Father. For neither spared that loving Father to send his most dear and only Son at the time appointed, nor the obedient Son to submit himself to the shape of a servant, and so became man.

Victoriously did he overcome both death and the devil, as appeareth by his great miracles, resurrection, and ascension. And like as he came down first of all with a possible meekness, so came he down after that with an impossible and invisible majesty. Sudden was this latter coming down, and most marvellous to the world, such time as he, by his heavenly Spirit, replenished his apostles with all necessary knowledge. And the voice thereof was heard the world over, such time as they did preach it abroad. Sensibly was his coming down expressed in Saul, and also the mighty power thereof, when he threw him to the ground, and said, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?

This angel had the key of the bottomless pit, or power over hell, and a great chain in his hand, or full liberty to restrain the spiritual adversary. For unto him was given all power in heaven and in earth. Authority had he to destroy him that had rule over death, which was then the devil. Though I was dead, saith Christ, yet am I now alive for ever and ever, having the keys both of death and hell.—Like a most valiant captain he fell upon that strong armed house watcher, and overcame him, depriving him both of weapon and spoil.—Yea, he bound that malicious Satan, and made him sure for a thousand years space, to make of the vessels of wrath vessels of mercy. This did he by his strong word of covenant, whom he made for a thousand generations. And a full performance it is of God's first promise for man's behoof, that Christ should tread down the head of the serpent. For a thousand years was this restraint. Mark besides the mystery, the time

from the ascension of Christ unto the days of Silvester, the second bishop of Rome of that name, and ye shall find that it was from Christ's nativity a complete thousand, after all the historiographers.—Consider for the time that he was thus bound, the constant faith of the christians, and the invincible hearts of their martyrs, and ye shall find them far different from them that have been since. He was then so weak, so infatuate, that not only wise men, learned men, and strong men, set light by him, but also young maids, children, and tender infants in a manner did laugh him to scorn, and set all his subtle sleights at naught.*

CHAPTER XX. ver. 4, 5.

While the dragon was thus tied up and thrown into the bottomless pit for a thousand years' space, the elect number had a certain continuance of being. Whose peaceable estate and condition for that time, the text following declareth, by manner of recapitulation. After the before rehearsed vision of the serpent, I beheld, saith St. John, seats prepared without number. I saw the hearts of faithful believers, (which are the seats of wisdom, according to Solomon,) beautifully garnished with virtues by the preaching of the apostles, and of other godly teachers. Very peaceable and quiet were these seats. For though they had in the world on every side tribulation, yet had they their consciences quieted in Christ. They considered themselves partakers of the heavenly calling, and rejoiced in hope of the glory of God's children.

Upon these seats sat they who are afore called that people whom Satan should no more deceive. They satiated themselves in the wisdom that God loveth. They grounded their dwelling with discretion in his understanding and

* The reformers generally adopted the same interpretation as is here followed by Bale, of considering the first thousand years after Christ, as the time when Satan was bound, and that he was loosed after that period, when as Bale proceeds to say, by the papacy, "he is abroad in their outward ceremonies and rites, ready to be seen of all the world, if pride, pomp, haughtiness, vain glory, may show him, or if hypocrisy, error, superstition, and all other devilishness can tell where he is." It is not requisite to give Bale's farther statements on this point, which is now so generally viewed in a different light; but the subject should not be left without one remark—how dreadful must the unfettered reign of popery, from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, have been, since so many excellent divines considered it as the special unloosing of Satan, when compared with the state of the preceding centuries! The passages which follow, state the views of the Reformers respecting the reign of Christ and his saints.

knowledge. Fast did they cleave to his loving word. And for no adversity would they move their foot from the hard rock, which is Christ. Thus sat his people in the beautiful seats of peace, according to Isaiah, in the tabernacles of trust, and in a most plenteous rest, the deceivers and mockers put apart.

And as they were thus quieted, the judgment or true understanding of the Lord's verity was given unto them. Their senses were opened, and great knowledge had they in the scriptures. The figures and prophecies that were hid to others, were manifest and open unto them. The dark veil was removed from Moses's face, and the light of the laws appeared. They could then discern good from evil, light from darkness, and sweet from sour. The yoke was then taken from them, and no longer were they subject to strangers. Dead men perceived the secrets of the book. The eyes of the blind might see, without mist of darkness. They, which beforetime were of an erroneous spirit, had then the right understanding, and were learned in the law. In their inward parts was the knowledge thereof planted of the Lord, and the truth written in their hearts, he becoming their God, and they his people. Because we should not separate the dead from the quick, or the departed from the living, and so judge them diverse, considering they both are of one God, and live by one Spirit, being of one hope and calling, the Holy Ghost doth here couple them together as sheep of one pasture, feeding all of one spiritual meat, and drinking of one spiritual Rock accompanying them, and as members of one mystical body of Christ in this present revelation.

[After describing the martyrs, suffering "for the faithful testimony of Jesus, and the constant assertion of the true word of their Lord God." Bale proceeds—] When they were thought of the wicked to be dead, they lived in all sweetness of the spirit, in desire of his latter coming, which shall be to their double glory. And they reigned with Christ the pastor and high bishop of their souls, not only here, where they suffered with him for a thousand years' space, but also above, where he sitteth on the right hand of God's majesty-seat, a thousand without end. Then reigned the godly number most of all, when they seem to the wicked least of all to reign, as when they suffer persecutions and death for Christ. For after no other sort

reigneth his church here, than he reigned before them, whose triumph was greatest upon the cross.

The thousand years of the reign of the godly stretcheth here no farther, than the thousand years of the fall of the ungodly. Christ's years also deducted, who is the head of his congregation. For as the one kingdom decreased, the other always increased. Very few christian martyrs or constant witnesses are perceived from thenceforth. For, as appears by history, many were abjured and recanted, which was not seen in the former age, and all in a manner, except a small number of the poor, utterly renounced the truth, for the cruel behaviour of Antichrist.* In these two sorts, before rehearsed, of them that sat upon the seats, and them that were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, is it to be marked, that all were not martyrs whom God allowed for his in the primitive church, but that there were of both sorts. So was he accepted, that mortified the desires of the flesh, and offered himself a living sacrifice unto God, as well as him that gave his life for the verity.

But the residue, saith St. John, or the other sort, called the dead men, for that they were not numbered with the righteous, neither among them that sat upon the seats, nor yet among them that were slain for the witness of Jesus, lived not again after they were once dead, till the thousand years of their death was thoroughly fulfilled. The time was, when they which were dead through sin did hear the voice of the Son of God. They faithfully believed the word thereof, and so revived in Him unto the life everlasting, who was the Life and Light of men. Whereas the froward contemners of that living Word, having their consciences sealed with the beast's mark, remained still in their infidelity, which is the very death of the soul, and so were by the right judgment of God lost for ever. For the sin against the Holy Ghost, which is a resistance against the manifest truth, shall neither be forgiven in this world, nor yet in the world to come.

A time without end doth this word "till," cause this thousand here to be, after the common usage of the scripture. Noah sent forth a raven out of the ark, which returned not again till the waters were dried up, that is to

* This was written before the Marian persecutions, but though many faithful martyrs suffered in them, and subsequently in the Low Countries and elsewhere, yet Bale's statement as a general remark is not affected thereby.

say, it never returned again.—Thou shalt not out of prison till thou hast paid the uttermost mite, that is, thou shalt never out. With a hundred such places in the bible.

CHAPTER XX. ver. 6.

This is the first resurrection unto life, to rise from sin to repentance, from ignorance to godly knowledge, and from darkness to faith. Through the offence of one man, sin entered into the world, and through sin death. Necessary is it therefore to die unto sin, and to live unto righteousness. And so to rise together with Christ, seeking the things which are above and not upon earth. For never shall they come to the second resurrection which is unto the life everlasting, that will not rise by repentance unto a new life in him, who is both resurrection and life.

Blessed is that man of the Lord, yea, holy, just, and perfect may he be reported also of all men, who hath portion convenient in that first resurrection, with David, Magdalen, Zaccheus, and Peter. Happy are they which hearing the word of God, retain it in their living. For they, being renewed with the glad tidings of life, are purified by the Spirit of Christ, sanctified, and so made the temples of the Holy Ghost.

Upon such godly disposed persons, hath the second death of the soul, which is eternal damnation, no manner of power nor effectual jurisdiction. For no damnation can be unto them which are in Christ Jesus, not walking after the flesh. Though they have been great sinners, yet shall not their sins be imputed to them. But in the resurrection of the righteous shall they rise to immortality, and be as the angels in heaven. He that hath taken from them the power of death, shall make them sure of the eternal inheritance with God.

They shall surely be the chosen priests of God the everlasting Father, and of his eternal Son Jesus Christ, which are of the first resurrection. Though they are here in the flesh, yet fight they not after the flesh; but they shall follow the governance of the Spirit, and give over their bodies for a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God.

And thus shall they reign with Christ, their merciful Saviour and Redeemer, for the space of the thousand years aforenamed. None other took they all that long season for their spiritual Messiah, their eternal King, their high Bishop for all, their Master, their Lord, their Guide, their

Light, and the Shepherd of their souls. None other would they acknowledge but Him for their Mediator and Atonement-maker, neither Moses nor Samuel, Noah, Daniel, nor Job, John Baptist, Mary, nor Peter. He only was unto them all wisdom, righteousness, holiness, and redemption. In none other name could they find health and salvation, but alone in his. Nothing pertaineth this unto the pope's mass-sayers, for they call upon many names with, "Pray for us," and are of a far other priesthood, as we have declared before. In Christ's kingdom is no outward priesthood, nor sacrifice to be made for sin. For he hath with one oblation for all, fully satisfied for the sins of his elect number for ever. The office of a christian man now is only to offer up himself, by the denial of himself, and by the mortification of his flesh. In the holy supper of the Lord, which is a mutual participation of his body and blood, is no new sacrifice to be made, but only a faithful remembrance to be taught of that full and perfect sacrifice that he made once for all, unless we will betray him and crucify him again. The duty of a minister in Christ's congregation is with all study and diligence to labour in the holy word of God, be he bishop, priest, chaplain, pastor or preacher. His ministration is great labour and no dignity, pain and not pride or arrogance. And having his food and raiment, he ought to require no more.

Chapter xxi. 5—8.

And the omnipotent Lord which sat upon the eternal throne concluded thus with me. His Holy Spirit of promise ascertained my spirit by his heavenly word, that all these things should be true.

Behold, saith he, I will make all things fresh and new, heaven, earth, the sea, and the universal city of peace. I will deliver from all corruption. I make all pure, clean, holy, immortal, uncorrupt, impassible, clear, heavenly, spiritual, and glorious. Never more shall they be as they were before, when they were yet old. Never more shall be eating or drinking, wiving or banqueting, travailing or sleeping, or other such doings pertaining to the corruptible life. The righteous shall shine as the red fire sparks. Bright as the sun shall they be in the kingdom of their Father.

Thus hath the Lord here most marvellously described unto John, and by him unto us, the mystical sabbath of his people here, and the eternal sabbath after this life,

commanding him to register it, as followeth. Much to and fro hath been among the school doctors, and is yet to this day, whether the saved multitude shall reign here upon earth with Christ, or above in heaven after the judgment day. Which is easy to be perceived, if the scriptures be truly conferred. Therefore search diligently the scriptures, for they bear witness of all truth. Christ saith in Matthew, that they shall be then as the angels are now in heaven, whose office is both to be here and there. And so much the rather that they shall be as then all one. So well shall the earth be new as the heavens. And needs it must be to some purpose. Never would Isaiah and Peter have said that righteousness should dwell in them, if they should not occupy them both. It is said here also, that the new Jerusalem shall come down from heaven; but, not so that it shall not up again. For Christ's elect shall be where he is. When they shall be upon the earth, no hinderance or impediment shall they have to be also in heaven, both they being one. Such agility and perfection shall be then in their bodies as is now in the glorified body of Christ, or in the spiritual nature of the angels, which are now here, now there; and whether they are here or there, always they see God, and are never more absent from him. Many scriptures might be brought in to declare this matter more at large, but it would ask much time.

What mutual fellowship, heavenly amity, and glorious pastime will be betwixt them and the angels at that day, it far passeth all capacities to define. I counsel to man not to be curious in the search of so high mysteries as this here is one, without the fear of God, lest he, being overcome of their exceeding brightness, be thrown into most deep error and blindness of the Spirit. Rather submit your weak judgments with Paul, confessing God's secret counsels to be unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. Seek here only to be renewed and then shall ye be sure there to find them. For there shall his servants be satisfied with the plenteousness of his house, and with the abundance of his eternal pleasures. For he hath enough for all men. He that hath a desire to know the one church from the other, and the true from the false, may here do it well by conferring them together. Let him consider by what is said heretofore, that this is holy, the other blasphemous; this is new, the other is old, for Cain was the elder brother.

This is called Jerusalem, the other confused Babylon; this came down first from heaven, the other rose out of the bottomless pit. This was soberly prepared to her spouse, the other apparelled herself rashly like a harlot, for none other rule follow they but their own traditions. This hath but one husband; she hath done fornication with many kings, by many false worshippings. This for her meekness is commended of God, the other proudly boasteth herself, through holy traditions, merits, and deservings, to be a rich queen; with many such other.

And the Lord, saith St. John, which worketh all things by his only word and commandment, said thus unto me, Imprint first in thy heart what I have here showed thee, and then leave it in writing to the instruction of those that shall follow thee.

And if thou wilt know a reason why thou shalt thus do, take this strong sentence with thee. I assure thee, so truly as I am God, that the words which I have showed in this present revelation are effectually most faithful and just. In no manner of point can I break promise, nor go from the word that I have once spoken. Both heaven and earth shall pass over, but not one jot of my words shall pass unfulfilled at their times appointed. The word that goeth out of my mouth shall not return home again void, but shall both accomplish my will, and prosper in the thing I sent it for. Needful is it therefore that all men believe that I shall fulfil the covenants here promised.

Moreover the Lord said thus, to put me out of doubt, It is finished and done already. Be thou ascertained that my word is my deed. In the beginning I spake but the word, and all things were created, heaven, earth, the light, the firmament, the sun, the moon, the fowls, the fishes, the beasts, and last of all, man. Whatsoever I say, therefore, ought to be believed as now done in deed, be it to the righteous or damned; for all things are present before me. In token whereof the prophets and fathers uttered their prophecies of things to come, in the time past, for the more part, for the sure certainty of them.

And take these my words so much to be the more certain, that I, which have made those promises, have all things in my power. I am the first and the last, figuratively comprehended under Alpha and Omega, the first and the last Greek letters, as a known manner of speech to the

Greeks, unto whom this revelation was first written. For no God was there before me, nor yet shall be after me. I am God from everlasting and world without end.

I am he that hath begun all things, I am he again that shall finish them. I am alone, and there is none other God but me. I slay, I quicken, I smite, I heal, I set up, I put down. Through me do kings reign, and every man's end is in my hand. Wherefore it is reason that they have recourse unto me. I am that fresh Fountain which Isaiah speaketh of, most highly necessary to them that will live. Very liberal shall he find me that seeketh me in faith.

To him that is athirst or desirous of righteousness will I give to drink of the plenteous well-spring of the wholesome waters of life. And that will I do freely, without price or payment, either of masses or merits, dead suffrages or deservings. Lay out your money no more for the thing that feedeth not; spend no more travail about the thing that helpeth not. Come unto me all you that labour and are loaden, and I shall refresh you. So desirously seek unto me your God as the hart seeketh to the brooks of water. For with me is the well of life everlasting, with my pleasant rivers shall I content your good appetites. The water of this fountain is the verity and sweetness of Christ's Spirit, refreshing the soul here with hope, and there with life everlasting. In this life is felt but a taste of it, in the world to come shall the thirst be satisfied. Here is it but in heart springing up toward life, there shall it be in full course and never fail. Here are obtained but small drops of it, there shall it be had in full plenteousness. The philosophers for their wisdom, and the physicians for their cunning, look for great rewards. The buyers and sellers in the temple set their wares at a great price, yet are they but stinking waters, and not able to restrain the thirst. But this is free without payment, through Christ, and containeth health in abundance. Not our good works, saith St. Augustine, but his own free gifts doth God crown in us. This must be sought; for only shall he obtain it that thirsteth after it. Only shall he have that asketh, and he find that seeketh.

He that hath done as a christian warrior, to fight against the devil of these darknesses, and so manfully doth his part, that by faith he overcometh him, and hath the full victory over him in Christ, he shall be sure to possess

all these things, heaven, earth, the new Jerusalem, the living waters, and to have his full desire in the joys to come. Wonderful is this promise. No king nor emperor, priest nor prelate, Turk nor Soldan, can grant such wages. But who shall obtain them? None other than fighteth lawfully, working according to the rules and examples of faith. Neither he that masseth nor censeth, processioneth nor holy-watereth, nor yet he that buildeth churches. For these works the scripture commandeth not.

Besides this promised reward, saith the Lord here, I will be his God indeed, according to my former covenant, and he shall be unto me as mine own son. So loving will I be to him as the mother is to the babe born of her body, whom she can never forget. So merciful as the natural father, that pitieth his own children at the very heart. Example by the unworthy lost child, whom I both lovingly received, and sweetly embraced in mine arms. Yea, I both clothed him and fed him with the best, as a son full dear unto me. And of this let him be sure which hath me for his father, that I shall give him Christ to be his brother, and with him all things necessary, constituting him my perpetual heir. This fatherly covenant was plain unto my servant David, for whom I set up mercy for ever.

But far otherwise will I do by the other sort, which neither will seek the living waters, nor have desire to the scriptures, nor yet keep the hold I have put them to, which is their christian profession, but cowardly leave it unto the enemies, the serpent, the beast, and the false prophet. As are these which follow here in their course. First of all the fearful cowards or false-hearted christians, whom the Holy Ghost calleth here before neither hot nor cold. At a time they believe, but when any trouble cometh, they go wholly from it. These doubt the loss of their goods, the hinderance of their names, and the harm of their bodies, and so are they not worthy of Christ. Such were Ananias and Sapphira, with many others more since their time. These trust not in the Lord, as Sion, which never removeth.

Next are the unfaithful hypocrites, which neither believe the promises, nor yet fear the threatenings of the Lord. These make God's commandments of no value for their own traditions. With beggarly ceremonies clog they the people, and as the blind they lead the blind into the ditch. Neither will these enter into the kingdom of God, nor yet

suffer others to enter. Such were the pharisees and sadducees, with our monks, canons, and friars, succeeding in their wicked examples.

After them followed the cursed obstinates, and abominable blasphemers, who knowing the verity, do not only abhor it, but also with most spiteful cruelness persecute it. These are the swine that tread pearls in the mire, and the dogs that turn again to devour. Impossible is it for these again to be renewed to repentance, thus casting behind them the graces of the Spirit so freely offered them. Such were Annas and Caiaphas, with our execrated (Romish) bishops, suffragans, canons, parsons, vicars, with all the priests of the same wicked zeal.

The unpitiful murderers are also the same blood-thirsty prelates, those Cains, and these boisterous Nimrods that never will be satisfied with the slaughter of innocents. No cruel antichrist after John Wickliff's time did so spitefully persecute the verity of Christ in England, as did Philip Reppingdon, made then of a false brother or perjured christian, bishop of Lincoln.* The grand captain of this mad muster is the proud bishop of Rome, the preposterous vicar of the Lamb, and the unworthy successor of Peter, in that he hath not yet put up his sword. Of the same sort also are all those cruel princes and unmerciful magistrates that apply their authorities, powers, and offices, unto the same mischief. Such deceitful raveners and abominable blood-shedders the merciful Lord abhorreth evermore. Of this number was Pharaoh and Herod, and innumerable tyrants since, which to rehearse in order were too long.

The filthy whoremongers are those holy spiritual Ammonites which have consecrated themselves unto Moloch in the fire of fleshly concupiscence. For ever have they forsworn godly marriage, to make daily sacrifice to the devil in carnal filthiness. The most highly esteemed virtue of that generation is to have no wives. Never commanded I such filthy vows, saith the Lord, neither came it ever in my thought to make Judah sin with such abomination. For the oft breaking of their oath, profession, and vow, it is no matter, so long as they make the reckoning among themselves. Innumerable is the swarm of these lecherous locusts of Egypt; every where are their fruits seen all the world over.

Some expositors take the sorcerers here mentioned, for

* See the Disciples of Wickliff, p. 4.

them that with charms and subtle witchcraft deceive the people; and some suppose them to be such as have practised poisons to destroy men with; and both may be well. For never were Pharaoh's conjurors nor Jezebel's apothecaries more expert than these are in their daily feats to destroy both bodies and souls. Wonderful are their practices both ways all the chronicles over. Mark the legerdemain of Anastasius II. Silvester II. Boniface VIII. Benedict IX. with Hildebrand, and such other, besides Barochius and Simon Magus in the scripture. Mark also how John XXIII. caused Marsilius, a physician of Parma, to poison his predecessor called Alexander V. with many more of that practice, as mentioneth Baptista Panencius.

The idolaters are they that worship after any other sort than the Lord hath taught and commanded in the scriptures; or that believe in any other than in God, which will have his glory given to none other. Not that shalt thou do, saith he, that seemeth good in thy sight, but that I command thee, that do only, neither making it more nor yet less. Of this sort are they that observe days and months, times and years, in bondage. So are all they which pray to the saints departed, offer to images, kiss the reliques, hear mass without understanding, worship their sacrament, as they call it, in their massings and processions, with such other abominable superstitions.

And finally, the unshamefaced liars are they which minister errors in hypocrisy, forbidding both marriage and meats, and telling that Christ is here and there, so blemishing the christian religion. They are also those blasphemers which call the scriptures heresy, and slanderously report of the poor favourers thereof. These are the natural children of the devil. Such a one was Tertullus the orator that accused Paul of sedition, and so were the bishops and priests that gave wages unto the soldiers, after Christ's resurrection, to say that his disciples had stolen him away by night. All these, with such other execrable sects, saith the Lord unto John, shall have their just portion in the foul stinking lake, that horribly foameth with filthy fire and brimstone. With the devil and his angels shall they dwell for ever.

Thus the wicked, saith David, for neglecting their Lord God, are turned into hell with perpetual confusion. The fiery flood that shall go before the judge will swallow them up wholly.

And this is without fail the second death, or damnation,

both of soul and body. The perpetual shame and reproof, as Daniel calleth it, that shall never be recovered. Not only the abominable homicides, idolaters, and whoremongers, shall have this reward, but also the faint-hearted hypocrites, the unfaithful sorcerers, and the execrable liars, with all their affinity.

Chapter xxii. 1, 2.

And the angel, saith St. John, or gracious purpose of the Lord, which communed with me all this time to bring me yet into a farther knowledge of his mysteries, showed unto me a most pure and commodious river, which was the wholesome water of life. None other can I suppose this river to be by the search of the scriptures, but the flowing verity, the word of salvation, or the effectual doctrine of Christ's holy Spirit. That is the sweet flood of Eden which pleasantly flows through paradise, and visits the four quarters of the world. This is that wholesome and delectable water, which daily comforts and preserves the spiritual Jerusalem from all contagious maladies. This running flood, with his rivers on every side, rejoices the city of God, the habitation of the Highest.

All full of quickness is it, springing into the life everlasting. Here it is the spiritual comfort of God's children, there it shall be the inestimable glory of the saints. To whom shall we go, Lord, saith Peter, but unto thee, for thou only hast the words of eternal life?

Clear is this water as the pure crystal that is without spot. Much farther from corruption is the sincere word of God than is the fine silver that is seven times tried in the fire. The laws of the Lord are perfect and quicken the soul; his testimonies are true, giving wisdom to babes; his statutes are right, rejoicing the heart; his precepts are pure, giving sight to the eyes; and his judgments are altogether righteous.

The nature of this water is none other but evermore to cleanse, evermore to revive, and evermore to make whole and perfect. For only doth it issue from the majesty of God, it proceedeth out from the sempiternal* throne of the Father, and so floweth forth in the plenteous abundance of the Lamb, Jesus Christ, and of his godly Spirit. With him is the well of everlasting life. They that walk in his light shall be free from darkness for ever. They

* Everlasting.

shall throughly enjoy the abundance of those things that his house is full of, and he shall give them drink out of the full flowing river of his eternal pleasures. I will pour clear water upon you, saith the Lord, in Ezekiel, and ye shall be clean from all filthiness; a new heart will I give you; a new spirit will I plant in you, and so cleanse you from all your idols. Rejoice with Jerusalem, all you that love her; for ye shall suck comfort out of her breasts and be satisfied. They that have sown in heaviness, shall reap in perpetual gladness. From the Father and the Son proceeded the Holy Ghost, as a clear crystal river, neither created nor begotten, to refresh this chosen city. So that much more understanding, light, and knowledge it hath, than had the old synagogue of the Jews, which was thereof but a shadow. Yet is it comparably far from what that shall be in the durable life to come, being as yet thereto but a figure. For, as witnesseth Paul, our knowledge is now imperfect, and our prophesying imperfect; but when that cometh which is perfect, then that which is imperfect shall be done away. Here is it also to be considered, that the Lamb is equal with God, they both having but one seat. Moreover it is in the midst of the golden street of this beautiful city, which comprehends the spiritual children of Abraham, couched together in the unity of one tried faith.

And upon either sides of the sweet river, which are the two testaments of the Lord, was standing the most delectable Tree of life, Jesus Christ, that Mediator and Father which giveth life to the world. Out of the stock of Abraham and David sprang this tree after the flesh, conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of Mary the virgin, who was also a golden stone of this street. Blessed art thou, saith Elizabeth, for thy belief's sake; for in thee is performed the full promise of the Lord. This is that tree which was planted by the water side, and gave forth fruit at the time appointed. As the tree of life was set in the midst of paradise at the beginning, so is he now spiritually grounded in the midst of his church, which is his garden of pleasure. Behold, saith Christ, I am with you, every day, unto the world's end.

Marvel not that the tree is here called wood, for it is the custom and manner of the Hebrews to put the one for the other. Both is this tree in the midst of the street, and also upon either side of the river. For Christ is both known of his faithful multitude, and comprehended in the

scriptures. David acknowledged himself to be a pure stone of this golden street, when he said, My humbled soul hath cleaved or fastened to the pavement, quicken thou me, Lord, according to thy word. So did king Hezekiah when he was revived again. And so did Elias when he, under the juniper tree, desired to die, with many other more. Between both testaments arose Christ, performing the old, and beginning the new. He bordereth also to this day upon them both, for they both bear large and plenteous witness of him. Both the law and the gospel, the prophets and apostles, the psalms and all other scriptures, witness thoroughly that he is the promised Seed, the Son of the living God, and the Saviour of the world.

If that soil be fortunate which bringeth forth fruits twice in the year, most happy and blessed is the ground of this city; for the living tree thereof is never barren, bare, nor idle. Not only doth it bear twelve manner of fruits of inestimable wholesomeness, betokening the universal graces and gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it giveth them forth every month in the year, or evermore without ceasing. Every month hath there both its summer and its winter. Every lifetime of them which are of this congregation hath here both his sweet consolation in the spirit, and also his hard persecution in the flesh. Else is it not of Christ's kingdom, which is the destroyer of death, and ministereth life at his pleasure. In this tree is the original ground of life. He is the very life of all them that live unto God. In him only they consist, they move, and they have their continual being. His branches are the holy prophets and apostles, and the evangelists and martyrs, with all other godly preachers and teachers, evermore green and pleasant in their conversation and doctrine. I am the true vine, saith he, and you are the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit. Christ sent them out as branches, and spread the world over with them, to bring forth fruit that should not perish. And that every month, from age to age, and from time to time continually. For still are the true believers fed with the apostles' fruitful doctrine, and shall be to the end of the world. Therewith are their souls refreshed, in their great manifold sorrows and labours. A singular comfort it is unto them to consider God's sweet promises, and to remember what a loving Father they have of him, through Jesus Christ their only Mediator and Saviour.

Most abundantly feel they themselves satisfied, when they are ascertained thoroughly by the scriptures, that they are predestinate, called, saved, sanctified, and shall be hereafter glorified by him. Whereas, contrariwise, the desperate infidels are much discomforted, considering themselves blinded, condemned, judged, and reproved. Twelve are these fruits here called, which is a perfect and full complete number, comprehending the universal graces of the Spirit contained in all the scriptures. As are the fear of God, the poverty of soul, the cleanness of heart, compassion upon the needy, desire of righteousness, mercy, gentleness, quietness, sufferance, wisdom, understanding, counsel, perseverance, knowledge, prudence, force, justice, temperance, with those that Paul numbereth to the Galatians, and innumerable virtues besides. Some expositors will this twelve to signify that none can be saved unless he be of the twelve children of Israel in spirit, and so walk according to the doctrine of Christ's twelve apostles. But I am contented with what is said before, being more agreeable to the text.

Such leaves had this wholesome tree as were for the health of the people, good, necessary, and medicinable. Such profitable words and promises hath Christ as are spirit and life, power of salvation, and everlasting health. These leaves of his can in no wise wither away, and whatsoever he doth by them it shall wonderfully prosper. He sent forth his wholesome word, saith David, and so healed them; he delivered them from all evils wherewith they were oppressed. As these words are sincerely taught, the benefits of our redemption are brought into remembrance. So is the conscience quieted, and the heart made glad. So rejoiceth the soul, and giveth perpetual thanks unto God the Father. So are the Gentiles thoroughly made whole, acknowledging Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Thus, after Ezekiel, are these fruits good to eat, and their leaves profitable for medicines. As the leaves are the beauty of a tree, and preserve the fruit, so is the true preaching of the Lord's verity, the comeliness of his church, and preservation of the same. And not the oilings, shavings, and disguisings, nor yet the lordships, mitres, and masses. A light thing is the word of God written or spoken, as is the leaf also of a tree. But if his Spirit worketh in it, then is it a thing most precious, effectual and strong, compared of Christ to a mustard seed, which

groweth into a great tree. Above all things, saith Zorobabel, the verity is most strong; for that is the Lord's eternal will, which never shall be altered.*

Chapter xxii. 3—5.

And concerning the before-named city or worthy congregation of the Lord, the curse that the earth had in the work of Adam shall clearly be taken from it. Never more, from henceforth, shall therein be any thing that God is not pleased with; for Christ hath redeemed her from the curse of the law, sustaining the penalty thereof to make her innocent. So that now there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, following the doctrine of the Spirit. If painful adversity, loss of goods, detriment of fame, sickness, persecution of body, or any other troublous cross happeneth, it is evermore for the best to them that are faithful. Perfectly shall these be taken away, with all the corrupt fruits of Adam, in the regeneration, when to their glory both heaven and earth shall be blessed, and all that is cursed thrown into the lake of everlasting fire.

And for a more sure token that this will be true, the high seat of God the Eternal Father, and of the Lamb Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, one Lord almighty in three personages, shall be continually therein. In the house of Jacob shall he reign evermore, and of his kingdom shall be none end. Among them will he fix his dwelling-place here which love him and observe his commandments; and there will he not be separated from them, but be still their eternal God. Moreover, as his true servants, here shall they worship him in spirit and in verity, and serve him in sincere faith, performing such godly works as he hath prescribed unto them, and not such as men's fantasies have dreamed. They shall so mortify their old man, destroying the body of sin, that no longer shall he obey the concupiscence, nor become a captive servant unto wickedness here. But now, delivered from sin, they shall put on a new man, which is rightly fashioned of God, and so become his servants in righteousness. And in the world to come they shall serve him, according to the knowledge that they shall have then, which now is incomprehensible and unspeakable.

Having the spirit of Christ, they shall here see his face of salvation in the mirror of faith, which is to have knowledge of his Godhead. And after this life they shall

* Book of Wisdom.

behold him in glory, like as he is indeed, much more perfectly than did Jacob, who saw him face to face. Moreover, so shall these his servants respect his visage, that whatsoever they do here, in word or in deed, they shall do it with all godly fear, lowliness, and reverence, always thinking he beholds their deeds.

They shall also perceive his glorious name to be written in their foreheads, or registered in their faith, feeling the sweetness thereof in their salvation. Besides that, not only shall they confess God with their mouth, but also in their outward conversation shall they daily appear as his faithful servants and children. And as concerning the glorious day, by that name then shall one know another to be a free citizen of heaven. Consider, saith St. John, how lovingly the Father doth use us. Not only here do we bear the name of his children, but also there shall we be sure to be his sons indeed.

No manner of night, or darkness of human doctrine, shall appear any more in that city. But, having Christ and his verity, all unprofitable doubts, fantasies, errors, lies, and false miracles shall these citizens detest here. And after this life no such matters are to be looked for, all things then being clear and perfect. Though they sometime were darkness, yet are they now light in the Lord, and will walk still therein as the children thereof, till they come to the God of gods, in the everlasting Zion.

There shall they have need of no candle nor of wisdom borrowed of men. Nor yet of the material sun which ministereth light to the day, by whom is meant the high science of philosophers, conceived of the creatures above, without faith. Those foreign lights may his ministers well use, but truly his church needeth them not, having much better of Christ and of his apostles than they are. Very dark lights are they where his bright beams once appear, who is the clear Sun of righteousness. Abominable lies and errors did he prove the high learning of the bishops and lawyers to be, as he doth yet prove their decrees and laws, their school divinities and sentences, their ordinary questions and quodlibets.

All these offensive mists set apart, the merciful Lord above, which is the omnipotent God, giveth them a light sufficient. His eternal Son is to them such a clear shining cresset,* as no great blast can extinguish, nor cloud with

* A sort of lamp fixed on a pole.

dark shadow blemish. Of most tender mercy sent he that Day-spring from above, to direct their feet here in the way of his peace. And after this laborious pilgrimage, in the sabbath of perpetual quiet, shall he enlighten them thoroughly with his most glorious presence, and with him shall they reign for ever and ever, in full felicity, and glory continuing. In this life beginneth the kingdom through faith, but there shall it be performed in the perfect sight of the Godhead. The proud reign of tyrants is here but for a time, the less is it to be feared. The meek reign of the righteous continueth for ever, therefore the more is it to be sought for and desired. The fruits that are here very hard and sour unto them, shall there be inestimably sweet, gentle, beautiful, perfect, and pleasant, having their full ripeness. No need shall it be then to run by sea and land for the wisdom, power, and glory of Christ, for in that day shall they be with every one present. Here have they but little petty beams of the light, very small drops of the water, and a smell of the fruits afar off. Likelihoods, figures, and mysteries only have they now of the beatitude to come. But there shall they be sure to have them in full sight, taste, and savour, and plenteously to be satisfied with them. Scarcely is it here in comparison to that it shall be there, as one drop of water to the whole sea, or as a handful of sand is to the whole earth.

Chapter xxii. 11—13.

Contrariwise, consider his exceeding great mercy towards them that are godly, whom he diversely afflicteth in this life, lest they should perish with the wicked. My pleasure is it, saith he here, that the man which is faithful, righteous, and good, shall increase evermore therein, and so continually be righteous. I shall so temper their hearts that have love to my truth, that they shall love it more and more. Yea, I shall so therein strengthen them, that for no persecution of tyrants shall they forsake it.

So will I order the matter among my elect, that he which is holy, pure, and perfect, leading a life according to my word, he shall persevere in it still, and be perfect unto the end, that he may enjoy the crown thereof. Neither shall seducing hypocrisy, nor yet perverting antichrist, with all their subtle charms and gins, be able to bring them out of that way which leadeth unto life. By this, we may see that the verity preached, even Christ, is unto some a falling, unto

some a rising up again. Unto some is his godly doctrine a sweet savour unto life, and unto some an ill savour unto death. The gospel is foolishness to them that shall perish, but unto them that believe it is such a power of God as bringeth salvation with it. The faithful, by hearing it, wax more godly. The indiscreet hypocrites contemn the grace thereof. So that the one sort is thereby made better, and increased in virtue, the other is made worse, and followeth all mischiefs. In him that hath faith shall all other graces of the Spirit abound, and in him that hath it not, shall no gift of virtue arise to his soul's profit.

Let men take heed if they will, and give diligent watch and attendance; for truly, saith the Lord, I will come suddenly and unawares upon the unfaithful, none other warning given but this and such other in the scriptures, take them if they will. Necessary it is that every man walk according to his vocation, both prince and preacher, lord and commoner, merchant and artificer. For when I shall resort, be certain and sure of it, my just reward shall come with me, which is both life and death.

Let no man reckon otherwise to find me, than a most righteous Judge, rendering unto every one at that day, according as his works shall appear, and as his deeds shall require of righteousness. Neither shall suffrages* nor church building, pilgrimages nor mass-ringing, holy orders, nor yet assoiling,† stand in any stead at that day. Only shall they find mercy that have been merciful, all others perishing without mercy. No man shall there be rewarded for works of men's prescription, be they ever so holy, but for that which hath risen of faith in God's word only. Neither shall they have that of deservings, as work-preachers have taught, but only of grace and favour, for Christ's blood sake. For unprofitable servants are we of ourselves, when we have done all that hath been commanded us. No better is our whole righteousness, when it is at the highest, than is the cloth that is stained with filth, nor more pleasant unto God, were it not for Him. Let no man think to be saved through deserving, no more than he is justified of deserving. Only is it the merciful favour and free goodness of Him, without our paltry merits, that shall save us. Not our good works, saith St. Augustine, but his own mere gifts doth the Lord crown in us.

This hath the Lord put here as a brief conclusion, com-

* Prayers of others. † Absolution.

prehending his whole mind in this Revelation, concerning the righteous and unrighteous. Believe this necessary doctrine, saith the Lord Jesus Christ, for I which have told it here unto you, am, under the mystery of Alpha and Omega, the first and the last Greek letters, the original Beginning of all things, and perfect End of the same. I am that mighty Word of God, though I appear now in this nature, in whom he created all, and by whom he shall perform and finish all to that end they were created for.

I am the First, in that I am in one Godhead equal with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost. I am also the Last, in that I shall so continue, world without end. I am He, before whom there was never any God, neither shall there be any after me. I am only the Lord, for I am from everlasting. In token whereof I have told you both things that are past, and things yet to come. Under this strange figure, or similitude of Alpha and Omega, which is a common allegory used of the Greeks, is always to be understood the eternal Divinity in Christ's manhood. Which is here, as are many other things else, oftimes repeated, of none other purpose, but as most necessary cause to be had in remembrance.

Chapter xxii. 16, 17.

Consequently, if ye covet, saith the Lord, to know surely whence this doctrine doth come, and who is the chief author thereof, be you thoroughly ascertained that I, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, have directed forth mine Angel, which is the Spirit of truth, or the Holy Ghost whom I promised to witness here manifestly unto you, by my dear disciple John, these wonderful things hereafter to befall in the christian congregations.

Think not that the contents of this book are either of John, or yet of any other man that ever was here living, for neither hath he learned them of prophet nor holy father: but, by my only revelation or showing, who am the eternal Spouse of the church, hath he received them to their singular health and comfort.

And, as concerning me, without fail I am the original Root or ground of salvation in David, after the word; and after the flesh I am of his stock or generation. For in me are fulfilled all promises of health that ever God made for that faithful household. By me, David had his beginning, for I made him; and by me, shall he and all other true

Israelites in him, have for ever a glorious continuance, for I saved them in that flesh.

To all them which walk after David's faith, am I the bright Morning-star of grace, removing the filthy clouds of error; I am the shining clearness of godly understanding, finishing the dark night of ignorance. I bring with me the day of mercy, health, and righteousness, and the sabbath of full reconciliation to God. I give light to them that sit in darkness, directing their feet in the pathway of peace.

For my word is spirit and verity, resurrection and life. And whereas it shineth in the hearts of mortal men, it maketh them the children of light. To seek unto this necessary light, the eternal Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost, daily moveth and provoketh, by many inward callings upon, saying always, Come with a sincere faith. Draw nigh unto me and be enlightened, and your frail consciences shall never be confounded. Resort unto him, all you that are loaden, and he shall refresh you. The bride or congregation of the Lord, thus taught, stirred, and urged forward of his Spirit, saith also in her heart evermore with a fervent desire, O, come, my most delectable Spouse and Lord Jesus Christ, my health, joy, and sweetness. Apply that the immortal glory of the chosen children of God may be seen of all creatures, iniquity condemned for ever. Accomplish the marriage appointed from the world's beginning. Permit that prepared spouse, with her appointed number, to enter into thy eternal tabernacle of rest.

Moreover, saith the Lord, whatsoever they are that shall hear and believe this prophecy, let them desire the consummation thereof, and so conform themselves unto Christ and his church, saying also, Come, most merciful Saviour and Redeemer, and fulfil the godly promises of this book, to the eternal comfort of man. Make haste to the judgment seat, for full deliverance of the whole chosen number, that thy servants may be where thou art, in perfect glory and joy.

Finally, let him, saith the Lord, that in faith is athirst, or that hath in him a desire to be saved, haste himself forward and come also. Let him only believe; for the plenteous fountains of the living waters mentioned before, are withholden from no servant of God. Nothing is denied unto him that asketh in faith. In prayer are all spiritual commodities granted. Whosoever, therefore, hath a will conformable to God's will, let him take freely, without price or payment, without satisfaction or merit, the pleasant water

of the life for ever, refreshing his soul in the plenteousness thereof.

Of grace and favour is salvation in Christ laid for thee; here is only required a will to seek for it. Not that it shall so be deserved, for neither is it of him that willeth, nor yet of him that runneth; but that gracious Lord which calleth men to these waters, putteth into them a stomach-thirst, and a desire to covet them. Yea, he ministereth strength to the seeking of them, lest some of the glory thereof should remain unto their deservings, and not all to his mercy alone. Thus standeth the doctrine of our work-braggers void, which neither feedeth nor satisfieth, considering that not for our righteous doings, but alone for his own mercy's sake hath he saved us.

Chapter xxii. 18—21.

As my duty is, saith St. John, to premonish beforehand, I faithfully protest by this my present testimony, unto all those men that shall hereafter receive the words of this wonderful prophecy, here written in this book, either by reading or hearing, that if any of them shall presumptuously take upon him to add any thing thereunto, in purpose to pervert the truth, or contrary to the Holy Ghost's meaning, as Carpocras, Ebion, Cerinthus, and other antichrists have done with the other scriptures, be certain and sure of it, that the eternal God, from whom nothing can be hid, shall add unto him for so doing, the most terrible and woful plagues rehearsed before in this work.

That is to say, he shall suffer him to run into most deep errors, and give him over for ever into the sin against the Holy Ghost, whereupon all other plagues of damnation depend. Ye shall put nothing, saith the Lord, unto the word that I have given you, neither shall ye take any thing from it. Put thou nothing unto his sayings, (saith Solomon,) of thine own imagination, lest he reprove thee for a damnable liar.

Nothing is this against those, who by the other scriptures and histories do expound this Revelation, to make it to their understanding more plain. For then should St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Isidore, Bede, Rabanus, and divers other great pillars of the church, be under the plagues for doing that charitable office. So should also the doctrine of this book be against itself in the thirteenth chapter, where liberty is given to him that hath wisdom, to count the number

of the beast, and in other places else. But this is here spoken of them that corrupt the text to maintain their blasphemous lies for advantage, or that seek to blemish the right sense thereof, lest men should behold them in their right colours; as the wicked papists have done ever since their beginning, so drowning the authority and majesty thereof.

Moreover, saith St. John, if any mortal man shall presume to diminish the words contained in this heavenly prophecy, unreverently so controlling the wisdom of God, the said omnipotent God, and revenger of all ungodliness, shall clearly wipe away his portion out of the book of life, so that he shall be none of their number which are predestinated to the glory of his children. Neither shall such be allowed for citizens, with saints, in the holy congregation of his new Jerusalem, nor yet be accepted for his household servants, enjoying sweet commodities mentioned in this book, as pertaining to his peculiar people. Like as the beautiful tree of life, with his manifold fruits and leaves of wholesomeness; the sweet running river of the living waters, and the holy city, are sufficiently described before, with such other else.

None that contendeth for a mastery, saith Paul, shall be crowned, unless he contend lawfully. Arius took away from the tenth of John this sentence, "I and the Father are one." Photinus added this clause to the gospel, as a voice from the Father, "I give unto Jesus his original of Mary." And their intents were to destroy our faith concerning Christ's Godhead, like as the papists do also seek to destroy our justification in his blood, unless we have their vile masses and merits. A like abjuration to this hath Ireneus, in the end of his Octonary, requiring all them that shall copy out that book, to do it truly, as they will answer it before God their righteous Judge. In like case doth St. Jerome, before the abbreviations of Eusebius's chronicle, command that in any wise the verity thereof be diligently preserved.

In confirmation of that I have said before, saith St. John, the eternal Son of God, who hath ratified these former things with his mighty word, saith here also, as one subscribing to it, Yea, it is so; or else thus, Like as thou hast said, John, shall these blasphemers hereafter find it, that presume either to add or diminish from these scriptures for any carnal purpose, And to perform that promise of thine, I will not long tarry. I come by and by to reward

the wicked with swift damnation, for not believing the truth. For now are the last days, the ends of the world, yea, the very last hour. Ready is the Lord, saith St. Peter, to judge the quick and dead, and the end of all things is at hand.

St. John, hearing this of his merciful Lord and Saviour, lifted up his head and hands towards heaven; and as one desirous of the performance of God's appointed will, and of the full deliverance of the faithful, he said, Amen; or, Be it fulfilled in effect. For that is the thing which my soul daily desireth and inwardly coveteth, to the full manifestation of thy glorious kingdom.

Consequently, in the voice of the whole congregation, John crieth, as did Simeon the just, Yea, even so might it be, as thou hast here promised, that thou mightest come out of hand.

Oh! come, most merciful Redeemer and gracious Lord Jesus Christ, to judge the universal world. Come, Come, or hie thee hither apace, to separate the wheat from the chaff, and the lambs from the goats, to bring them into thy eternal tabernacle. Woe is me that my banishment endureth so long. I, dwelling in the tabernacles of the sorrowful. My soul hath a thirsty desire for God, the fountain of life! Oh when shall I come and behold his face? Like are we to those faithful servants, which wait for the return of their Lord from the wedding, very ready to open at his knocking.

The grace of our merciful Lord Jesus Christ, saith St. John, whereby cometh salvation to them that truly believe, be with you all, so many as are of that godly expectation and desire. Or the favour, mercy and acceptation of God the Father, through his blessed death, evermore preserve you in the unity of his godly Spirit, that ye may hereafter, in this holy city, be partakers of his glorious heritage in the world to come.

Let all them say Amen unto this, which mind the glory of the Lord unfeignedly. So be it.

A conclusion of the whole work.

Here hast thou, good christian reader, to thy soul's consolation, from the eternal Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three distinct Persons in one everlasting Godhead, the universal estate of the church from Christ's ascension to the end of the world, in wonderful mysteries

described, and directed unto thee of Him, by the most holy apostle and evangelist Saint John. Wherein it is fully, by all due circumstances manifested of the said Holy Ghost, what the innocent christian church is, with all her justifications and blessings, to the singular comfort of the Lord's true elect. And what the proud synagogue of antichrist is, with her filthy superstitions and plagues, to their forewarning also. This is specially done here of the Holy Ghost, that no true believer should profess himself a citizen of this wretched world, with Cain, Nimrod, and other reprobate vessels, at the execrable doctrine of men; but at the pure voice of God, with Abel and Abraham, to seek for that heavenly heritage which is purchased for them in Christ's blood. Mark here the condition of John, being in most painful exile, for he, in mystery, through all these books, representeth every godly believer. By this shall ye well know in this revelation the one church from the other; for the one is maintained only by the preaching of God's pure word, the other by all kinds of Jewish ceremonies, and heathenish superstitions. And by this they also differ, that Christ would have all of love; antichrist of tyrannous constraint, as evidently appeareth in Mahomet and the pope. For that only cause are many necessary things here written in mystery, that they should be hid from the worldly wise hypocrites, and that the just, or God's meek spirited servants, should ask them of their Lord in faith and prayer. In the which daily prayer, is that most worthy minister of God, king Edward the sixth, before all other to be remembered, who hath so sorely wounded the beast, that he may throw all his superstition into the bottomless lake again, from whence they have come, to the comfort of his people. The grace and peace directed from God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the beginning of this revelation, be unto all them which unfeignedly love his verity. Amen.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

MILES COVERDALE,

Bishop of Exeter.

Miles Coverdale was a native of Yorkshire, where he was born in 1487. In early life he was a zealous papist, and became an Augustine monk. He entered into orders in 1514, but continued in the monastery of the Augustines at Cambridge, of which Dr. Barnes, afterwards martyr, was prior. About 1526, the doctrines of the reformation began to influence many at Cambridge. Serious persons resorted together for conference sake, and attended the sermons of such preachers as were inclined to the protestant faith. Their meetings for edification were chiefly at a house called the White Horse, which was consequently nicknamed Germany by their enemies, in allusion to the German Reformation. This house was convenient for the private access of students from several of the colleges. Coverdale and his superior, Dr. Barnes, were amongst the earliest who threw off the errors of popery. From the recantation of Thomas Topley, a friar at Stoke Clare, in Suffolk, we find Coverdale at Bumstead in Essex in 1528, where he declared openly against the mass, the worship of images, and private confession. He maintained that contrition for sin, between God and a man's own conscience, was enough, without confession to a priest. This was in conversation. Topley also states, that by Coverdale's preaching, his mind was drawn from the Romish doctrine of the sacrament. He also had heard Coverdale preach against images. Fox, the curate of Bumstead, seems to have been intimate with Coverdale, and to have held similar views.

Coverdale appears very soon to have devoted himself to the important work of translating the scriptures into the English language. He was on the Continent in 1530, where he had gone to escape the persecution then commenced. While there, he assisted Tindal in his translation of the Pentateuch after the first copy had been lost. He continued to take part in the biblical labours of that reformer, and when Tindal had fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, Coverdale pursued these studies, till 1535, when the first complete translation of the English bible appeared. It seems to have been printed at

Zurich. By residing on the Continent, he was enabled to carry it through the press without interruption. He also had the assistance of the Lutheran divines, many of whom were well skilled in Hebrew, as well as the German translation. These helps he acknowledges in his preface, which is given in the following pages. Coverdale's version was dedicated to Henry VIII, and allowed by royal authority; the interest Cranmer took in these labours has been noticed in his life.

Fulk relates from Coverdale's own statement, that Henry VIII. gave this translation to some of the bishops to peruse, who alleged there were faults therein, but admitted that no heresies were maintained thereby. "If there be no heresies," said the king, "let it go abroad among the people."

In 1538, Coverdale was employed in France in superintending another edition of the English scriptures, then printing at Paris, on account of the skill of the workmen, and the superiority of their materials. The attention of the papists, however, was attracted to the work, and the "lieutenant criminel" was ordered to seize the edition, consisting of 2500 copies. The greater part were burned, some copies, however, escaped which had been sold to a haberdasher. The types and workmen were then removed to London, and in 1539, Cranmer's, or "the great bible," appeared with the advantage of farther corrections from Coverdale, who was much assisted in these labours by the protection of Cromwell. The opposition of the prelates to the English translation of the bible has been noticed in the life of Cranmer, and elsewhere.

Coverdale maintained his ground during the chequered proceedings of the latter years of Henry VIII. and hesitated not to defend the memory of his former prior and friend, Dr. Barnes. He was almoner to queen Catherine Parr, and assisted in the translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus, carried forward under her influence. He wrote a preface to the epistle to the Romans. He preached at the funeral of this pious queen in 1548, when he warned the people that the offerings then made, were for the benefit of the poor and the honour of the clergyman, "not any thing to profit the dead." He was also chaplain to king Edward VI.

In August, 1551, Coverdale was nominated to the see of Exeter, in the place of Veysey, a decided romanist; to this he was presented, on account of his knowledge of the scriptures, and his unblemished character. He had previously attended the king's commissioners, who were sent to quiet the disturbances in the west of England, and preached the public thanksgiving sermon on that occasion. He was then appointed coadjutor to the bishop, an office not uncommon in those days. At the intercession of Cranmer, the payment of first fruits was remitted on account of his poverty. Veysey also had much injured the revenues of the see.

Coverdale exerted himself to promote the reformed religion in

his diocese. His conduct was most exemplary. Like a true primitive bishop, he was a constant preacher, and much given to hospitality. He was sober and temperate in all things, holy and blameless, friendly to good men, liberal to the poor, courteous to all, void of pride, clothed with humility, abhorring covetousness and every vice. His house was like a little church, in which was exercised all virtue and godliness. He suffered no one to abide under his roof, who could not give some satisfactory account of his faith and hope, and whose life did not correspond with his profession. He preached constantly on Sundays, and lectured during the week in the churches of Exeter, but notwithstanding his charity, humility, and hospitality, the papists exerted themselves to oppose his labours.

Immediately after queen Mary came to the throne, Coverdale was deprived and imprisoned. He was confined with the otner leading reformers, and signed with them the confession of faith. During his imprisonment, he wrote An Exhortation to the Cross, which is noticed by Strype. He therein says, "Pray for us, for, God willing, we will not leave you; we will go before you. You shall see in us that we preached no lies, nor tales of tubs, but even the true word of God, for which we, by God's grace, and help of your prayers, will willingly and joyfully give our blood to be shed for confirmation of the same."

He exhorts the professors of the gospel to be stedfast in their course. "Like God's children let us go on forward apace; the wind is on our back. Hoist up the sails, lift up your hearts and hands unto God in prayer; and keep your anchor of faith to cast in time on the rock of God's word, and on his mercy in Christ, and I warrant you." He also wrote a confutation of a sermon preached at Paul's Cross by Dr. Weston, in which that bigoted romanist had called the people to pray for souls departed, "who were neither in heaven nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, in order that they might be relieved by the devout prayers of the congregation."

It was intended that he should suffer martyrdom, but he had become related by marriage to the chaplain of the king of Denmark, who interfered in his behalf. His release being procured with some difficulty, not till twelve months after the first application, and on condition of his leaving the kingdom,* Coverdale went to Denmark, where the king wished him to remain, but this he declined, being unable to preach in that language. He then proceeded to Geneva, where he occupied himself partly in preaching and partly as a teacher. But labours connected with the English scriptures again claimed his attention, with the assistance of several fellow exiles he set forth the English Bible,

* Queen Mary endeavoured to evade compliance with this request of the king of Denmark, by alleging that Coverdale was in prison for a debt due to her by reason of his bishopric! The king availed himself of this to urge his release as the more reasonable, inasmuch as he had cleared his accounts.

usually called the Geneva Bible, with brief explanatory notes. His coadjutors in this work are said to have been Gilby, Goodman, Whittingham, Cole, and Sampson, to whom some add Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain. This version is in some respects superior to our present translation; it passed through above thirty editions during the reign of queen Elizabeth, mostly set forth by the royal printers. It was sanctioned by archbishop Parker and bishop Grindal. Some of the notes offended James I. who in the conference at Hampton Court, in the early part of his reign, said, that "he had never yet seen a bible well translated in English, though he thought the Geneva the worst, and therefore wished that some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation." He added, "that there should be no marginal notes, having found in those annexed to the Geneva translation, some very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits." It is hardly necessary to say that such blame from such a character, may be considered as a testimony in favour of the version. This opinion of the Geneva Bible, made king James more zealous in promoting our present authorized translation. The Geneva Bible, however, continued to be very generally used in families during a great part of the seventeenth century. The first edition of the new testament printed in 1557, was the earliest English translation in which the verses were numbered.

The following extract from the address to the christian reader, prefixed to this version, shows the spirit in which this important work was executed, and the attention bestowed upon it.

"Besides the manifold and continual benefits which almighty God bestoweth upon us, both corporeal and spiritual, we are especially bound, dear brethren, to give him thanks without ceasing, for his great grace and unspeakable mercies, in that it hath pleased him to call us into this marvellous light of his gospel, and mercifully to regard us after so horrible backsliding and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from the living God to dumb and dead idols, and that after so cruel murder of God's saints, as also hath been among us, we are not altogether cast off, as were the Israelites, and many others for the like, or not so manifest wickedness, but received again to grace, with most evident signs and tokens of God's especial love and favour. To the intent, therefore, that we may not be unmindful of these great mercies, but seek by all means, according to our duty, to be thankful for the same, it behoveth us so to walk in his fear and love, that all the days of this life we may procure the glory of his holy name.

"Now, forasmuch as this is chiefly to be attained by the knowledge and practising of the word of God, which is the light to our paths, the key of the kingdom of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and sword against Satan, the school of all wisdom, the glass wherein we behold God's face, the testimony of his favour, and the only food and nourishment of our souls,

we thought that we could bestow our labour and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his church, than in translating the holy scriptures into our native tongue. Which albeit divers heretofore have endeavoured to achieve, yet considering the infancy of those times, and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and clear light which God hath now revealed, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vindicate anything to ourselves above the least of our brethren, for God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied therein, but being earnestly desired, and by divers, whose learning and godliness we reverence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the ready wills of such, whose hearts God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God towards his church, though the time was then most dangerous, and the persecution sharp and furious, we submitted ourselves at length to their godly judgments. And seeing the great opportunity and occasions which God presented unto us in his church, by reason of so many godly and learned men, and such diversities of translations in divers tongues, we undertook this great and wonderful work, with all reverence, as in the presence of God, as entreating the word of God whereunto we think ourselves insufficient, which now, God, according to his divine providence and mercy, hath directed to a most prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased almighty God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness, that we have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word, and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charity."

After particularly stating their anxiety to render this work as nearly as possible conformable to the originals, they proceed,

"Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseech you that this rich pearl and inestimable treasure may not be offered in vain, but as sent from God to the people of God, for the increase of his kingdom, the comfort of his church, and discharge of our consciences, whom it hath pleased him to raise up for this purpose, so you would willingly receive the word of God, earnestly study it, and in all your life practise it, that ye may now appear indeed to be the people of God, not walking any more according to this world, but in the fruits of the Spirit, that God in us may be fully glorified, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen."

On the accession of queen Elizabeth, Coverdale returned from the Continent. Experience had tended to make him anxious for a more thorough reformation from popery, than was agreeable

to many leading characters in church and state at that period. He, therefore, with Fox, Jewell, and others, regretted much the futile efforts made to conciliate the papists, and was in consequence ranked among the moderate non-conformists; thus for some time, preferment was not offered to him. Coverdale's advanced age also unfitted him for resuming episcopal duties, but he preached repeatedly at Paul's Cross. Grindal, being much attached to him, was uneasy at this neglect of one, who, as he expressed it, "was in Christ before them all," and now was left without support. The bishopric of Landaff appears to have been offered to Coverdale in consequence of this interference, but his age and infirmities, with the reasons above mentioned, decided him against accepting it. Grindal then presented him to the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge, this his poverty prevented him from entering upon till the first fruits were forgiven. He wrote to archbishop Parker in January, 1564, requesting him to favour his suit to the queen for this benefit, urging the destitute condition in which he had been, since his bishopric was violently taken from him. In affecting terms he notices that he was not likely, "long to enjoy this benefice, going upon my grave as they say, and not likely to live a year." Soon after, he wrote to Cecil for his interest, to the same effect, adding, that if now poor old Miles might thus be provided for, he should think "this enough," to be as good as a feast. The queen granted Coverdale's request. He lived till February, 1568, having been "quiet," as he promised archbishop Parker, though he came not up to the uniformity required. A short time before his death, he resigned the living, probably on the above account, but was allowed to continue officiating, though he refused to wear the surplice. His last hours were happy, and he departed at the age of eighty-one. He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange, his remains being attended to the grave by a numerous and sorrowing concourse of citizens.

The writings of Coverdale are principally his versions of the scriptures, and translations of several tracts of Bullinger and other German Reformers, among these "A spiritual and precious Pearl," by Wormerius, is the most valuable. He also wrote a few English tracts, but the Preface to his translation of the bible, some extracts from his defence of Dr. Barnes, and his preface to the invaluable collection of the Letters of the Martyrs, published by him, exhibit him as a writer at different periods of his life, and appear most suitable for the present collection of the writings of the British Reformers, which would be very imperfect without some notice of one who had so materially benefited the church of Christ in England during four successive reigns.

A PROLOGUE

TO

THE BIBLE.

Miles Coverdale unto the Christian Reader,
A. D. 1535.

Considering how excellent knowledge and learning an interpreter of scripture ought to have in the tongues, and pondering also mine own insufficiency therein, and how weak I am to perform the office of a translator, I was the more loth to meddle with this work. Notwithstanding, when I considered how great pity it was that we should want it so long, and called to my remembrance the adversity of them,* which were not only of ripe knowledge, but would also with all their hearts have performed that they began, if they had not had impediment; considering, I say, that by reason of their adversity it could not so soon have been brought to an end, as our most prosperous nation would fain have had it—these and other reasonable causes considered, I was the more bold to take it in hand. And to help me herein, I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch† interpreters; whom, because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the bible, I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I have required. But to say the truth before God, it was neither my labour nor desire to have this work put in my hand: nevertheless, it grieved me that other nations should be more plenteously provided for with the scripture in their mother tongues than we; therefore, when I was instantly required, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will.

Whereas some men think now that many translations make division in the faith and in the people of God, that is not so; for it was never better with the congregation of God, than when every church almost had the bible of a sundry translation. Among the Greeks, had not Origen a

* Tindal. † German.

special translation? Had not Vulgarius one peculiar, and likewise Chrysostom? Beside the seventy interpreters, is there not the translation of Aquila, of Theodotion, of Symmachus, and of sundry others? Again, among the Latin men, thou findest that every one almost used a special and sundry translation; for insomuch as every bishop had the knowledge of the tongues, he gave his diligence to have the bible of his own translation. The doctors, as Ireneus, Cyprian, Tertullian, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Hilary, and St. Ambrose, upon divers places of the scripture, read not the text all alike.

Therefore, it ought not to be taken as evil, that such men as have understanding, now in our time, exercise themselves in the tongues, and give their diligence to translate out of one language into another. Yea, we ought rather to give God high thanks therefore, who through his Spirit stirreth up men's minds so to exercise themselves therein. Would God it had never been left off after the time of St. Augustine, then should we never have come into such blindness and ignorance, into such errors and delusions. For as soon as the bible was cast aside, and no more put in exercise, then began every one, of his own head, to write whatsoever came into his brain, and that which seemed to be good in his own eyes; and so grew the darkness of men's traditions. And this same is the cause that we have had so many writers who seldom made mention of the scripture of the bible; and though they sometime alleged it, yet was it done so far out of season, and so wide from the purpose, that a man may well perceive how that they never saw the original.

Seeing then that this diligent exercise of translating, doth so much good, and edifieth in other languages, why should it do evil in ours? Doubtless, like as all nations in the diversity of speeches may know one God in the unity of faith, and be one in love, even so may divers translations understand one another, and that in the chief articles and ground of our most blessed faith, though they use sundry words. Wherefore, methinks we have great occasion to give thanks unto God, that he hath opened unto his church the gift of interpretation and of printing, and that there are now at this time so many, who with such diligence and faithfulness interpret the scripture, to the honour of God, and edifying of his people. Wherein, like as when many are shooting together, every one doth his best to be nighest the

mark; and though they cannot all attain thereto, yet one shooteth nigher than another, and hitteth it better than another, yea, one can do it better than another. Who then is now so unreasonable, so despiteful, or envious, as to abhor him that doth all his diligence to hit the mark, and to shoot nighest it, though he miss and come not nighest? Ought not such a one rather to be commended, and to be helped forward, that he may exercise himself the more therein?

For the which cause, according as I was desired, I took the more upon me to set forth this special translation; not as a checker, not as a reprover or despiser of other men's translations, for among many, as yet I have found none without occasion of great thanksgiving unto God, but lowly and faithfully have I followed mine interpreters, and that under correction. And though I have failed any where, as there is no man but he misseth in some thing, christian love shall construe all to the best, without any perverse judgment. There is no man living that can see all things, neither hath God given any man to know every thing. One seeth more clearly than another, one hath more understanding than another, one can utter a thing better than another, but no man ought to envy or despise another. He that can do better than another, should not set him at naught that understandeth less; yea, he that hath the more understanding, ought to remember that the same gift is not his but God's, and that God hath given it him to teach and to inform the ignorant. If thou hast knowledge therefore to judge where any fault is made, I doubt not but thou wilt help to amend it, if love be joined with thy knowledge. Howbeit, whereinsoever I can perceive by myself, or by the information of others, that I have failed, as it is no wonder, I shall now, by the help of God, overlook it better and amend it.

Now will I exhort thee, whosoever thou art that readest scripture, if thou find ought therein that thou understandest not, or that appeareth to be repugnant, give no temerarious nor hasty judgment thereof; but ascribe it to thine own ignorance, not to the scriptures. Think that thou understandest it not, or that it hath some other meaning, or that it is haply overseen of the interpreters, or wrong printed. Again, it shall greatly help thee to understand scripture, if thou mark, not only what is spoken or written, but of whom, and unto whom, with what words, at what

time, where, to what intent, with what circumstance, considering what goeth before and what followeth after. For there are some things which are done and written, to the intent that we should do likewise; as when Abraham believeth God, is obedient unto his word, and defendeth Lot his kinsman from violent wrong. There are some things also which are written, to the intent that we should eschew such like; as when David doth evil with Uriah's wife, and causeth him to be slain. Therefore, I say, when thou readest scripture, be wise and circumspect. And when thou comest to such strange manners of speaking and dark sentences, to such parables and similitudes, to such dreams and visions, as are hid from thy understanding, commit them unto God, or to the gift of his Holy Spirit in them that are better learned than thou.

As for the commendation of God's holy scripture, I would fain magnify it as it is worthy, but I am far insufficient thereto, and therefore I thought it better for me to hold my tongue, than with few words to praise or commend it: exhorting thee, most dear reader, so to love it, so to cleave unto it, and so to follow it in thy daily conversation, that other men, seeing thy good works and the fruits of the Holy Ghost in thee, may praise the Father of heaven, and give his word a good report. For to live after the law of God, and to lead a virtuous conversation, is the greatest praise that thou canst give unto his doctrine.

But, as touching the evil report and dispraise that the good word of God hath, by the corrupt and evil conversation of some that daily hear it, and profess it outwardly with their mouths, I exhort thee, most dear reader, let not that offend thee, nor withdraw thy mind from the love of the truth, neither move thee to be partaker in like unthankfulness; but seeing that light is come into the world, love no more the works of darkness, receive not the grace of God in vain. Call to thy remembrance how loving and merciful God is unto thee, how kindly and fatherly he helpeth thee in all trouble, teacheth thine ignorance, healeth thee in all thy sickness, forgiveth thee all thy sins, feedeth thee, giveth thee drink, helpeth thee out of prison, nourisheth thee in strange countries, careth for thee, and seeth that thou wantest nothing. Call this to mind, I say, and that earnestly, and consider how thou hast received of God all these benefits; yea, and many more than thou canst desire. How thou art bound likewise to show thyself unto thy

neighbour as far as thou canst, to teach him if he be ignorant, to help him in all his trouble, to heal his sickness, to forgive him his offences, and that heartily, to feed him, to cherish him, to care for him, and to see that he want nothing.

And on this behalf, I beseech thee, thou that hast the riches of this world and lovest God with thy heart, to lift up thine eyes and see how great a multitude of poor people run through every town; have pity on thine own flesh, help them with a good heart, and do with thy counsel all that ever thou canst, that this unshamefaced begging may be put down, that these idle folks may be set to labour, and that such as are not able to get their living, may be provided for. At the least, thou that art of counsel with such as are in authority, give them some occasion to cast their heads together, and to make provision for the poor. Put them in remembrance of those noble cities in other countries, that by the authority of their princes have so richly and well provided for their poor people, to the great shame and dishonour of us, if we likewise, receiving the word of God, show not such like fruits thereof. Would God that those men, whose office it is to maintain the commonwealth, were as diligent in this cause as they are in others. Let us beware betimes, for after unthankfulness there followeth ever a plague; the merciful hand of God be with us, and defend us that we be not partakers thereof.*

Go to now, most dear reader, and sit thee down at the Lord's feet and read his words; and, as Moses teacheth the Jews, Deut. vi. 8. take them into thy heart, and let thy talking and communication be of them, when thou sittest in thine house, or goest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And, above all things, fashion thy life and conversation according to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost therein, that thou mayest be partaker of the good promises of God in the bible, and be heir of his blessing in Christ. In whom, if thou put thy trust, and art an unfeigned reader or hearer of his word with thy heart, thou

* Lewis very justly observes that this passage is a full reply to the assertions of the romanists, that the increase of poor in England was to be attributed to the dissolution of the monasteries and the progress of the Reformation. Sir Thomas More, in a publication of an earlier date, assigns it to other causes, amongst which he enumerates the covetousness of the rich abbots! And in an act of parliament, passed in 1534, it is attributed to the converting lands from tillage to pasturage, "by divers covetous persons."

shalt find sweetness therein, and spy wondrous things to thy understanding, to the avoiding of all seditious sects, to the abhorring of thy old sinful life, and to the stablishing of thy godly conversation.

In the first book of Moses, called Genesis, thou mayest learn to know the almighty power of God in creating all things of naught, his infinite wisdom in ordering the same, his righteousness in punishing the ungodly, his love and fatherly mercy in comforting the righteous with his promise, &c.

In the second book, called Exodus, we see the mighty arm of God in delivering his people from so great bondage out of Egypt, and what provision he maketh for them in the wilderness; how he teacheth them with his wholesome word, and how the tabernacle was made and set up.

In the third book, called Leviticus, is declared what sacrifices the priests and levites used, and what their office and ministration was.

In the fourth book, called Numbers, is declared how the people are numbered and mustered, how the captains are chosen after the tribes and kindreds; how they went forth to the battle, how they pitched their tents, and how they brake up.

The fifth book, Deuteronomy, showeth how that Moses, now being old, rehearseth the law of God unto the people, putting them in remembrance again of all the wonders and benefits that God had showed for them, and exhorteth them earnestly to love the Lord their God, to cleave unto him, to put their trust in him, and hearken unto his voice.

After the death of Moses, doth Joshua bring the people into the land of promise, where God doth wonderous things for his people by Joshua; who distributeth their land unto them, unto every tribe their possession. But in their wealth they forgat the goodness of God, so that oftimes he gave them over into the hand of their enemies. Nevertheless, whensoever they called faithfully upon him and converted, he delivered them again, as the book of Judges declareth.

In the books of the Kings is described the regimen of good and evil princes, and how the decay of all nations cometh by evil kings. For in Jeroboam thou seest what mischief, what idolatry, and such like abomination followeth, when the king is a maintainer of false doctrine, and

causeth the people to sin against God; which falling away from God's word increased so sore among them, that it was the cause of all their sorrow and misery; the very occasion why Israel first, and then Judah, were carried away into captivity. Again, in Jehoshaphat, in Hezekiah, and in Josiah, thou seest the nature of a virtuous king. He putteth down the houses of idolatry, seeth that his priests teach nothing but the law of God; commandeth his lords to go with them, and to see that they teach the people. In these kings, I say, thou seest the condition of a true defender of the faith, for he spareth neither cost nor labour, to maintain the laws of God, to seek the wealth and prosperity of his people, and to root out the wicked. And where such a prince is, thou seest again how God defendeth him and his people, though he have ever so many enemies. Thus went it with them in the old time, and even after the same manner goeth it now with us. God be praised therefore, and grant us of his fatherly mercy that we be not unthankful; lest where he now giveth us a Jehoshaphat, a Hezekiah, yea, a very Josiah, he send us a Pharaoh, a Jeroboam, or an Ahab.

In the two first books of Esdras (Ezra and Nehemiah) and in Esther, thou seest the deliverance of the people, which, though they were but few, yet is it unto us all a special comfort, forsomuch as God is not forgetful of his promise, but bringeth them out of captivity according as he had told them before.

In the book of Job we learn comfort and patience; in that God not only punisheth the wicked, but proveth and trieth the just and righteous, (howbeit there is no man innocent in his sight,) by divers troubles in this life, declaring thereby that they are not bastards, but his dear sons, and that he loveth them.

In the Psalms we learn how to resort to God only, in all our troubles, to seek help at him, to call only upon him, to settle our minds by patience, and how we ought in prosperity to be thankful unto him.

The Proverbs and the Preacher of Solomon teach us wisdom, to know God, our own selves, and the world, and how vain all things are, save only to cleave unto God.

As for the doctrine of the prophets, what is it else, but an earnest exhortation to eschew sin and to turn unto God? A faithful promise of the mercy and pardon of God, unto all them that turn unto him, and a threatening of his wrath

to the ungodly? Saving that here and there they prophesy also manifestly of Christ, of the expulsion of the Jews, and calling of the heathen.

Thus much thought I to speak of the Old Testament, wherein Almighty God openeth unto us his mighty power, his wisdom, his loving mercy and righteousness; for the which cause it ought of no man to be abhorred, despised, or lightly regarded, as though it were an old scripture that nothing belonged unto us, or that now were to be refused. For it is God's true scripture and testimony, which the Lord Jesus commandeth the Jews to search. Whosoever believeth not the scripture, believeth not Christ; and whoso refuseth it, refuseth God also.

The New Testament, or Gospel, is a manifest and clear testimony of Christ; how God performeth his oath and promise made in the Old Testament; how the new is declared and included in the old, and the old fulfilled and verified in the new.

Now, whereas the most famous interpreters of all, give sundry judgments of the text, so far as it is done by the spirit of knowledge in the Holy Ghost, methinks no man should be offended thereat, for they refer their doings in meekness to the spirit of truth in the congregation of God; and sure I am that there cometh more knowledge and understanding of the scripture by their sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. For what one interpreteth something obscurely in one place, the same translateth another (or else he himself) more manifestly by a more plain vocable of the same meaning, in another place. Be not thou offended, good reader, though one call a scribe that which another calleth a lawyer; or elders, that another calleth father and mother; or repentance, that another calleth penance or amendment. For if thou be not deceived by men's traditions, thou shalt find no more diversity between these terms than between fourpence and a groat. And this manner have I used in my translation, calling it in some place penance, that in another place I call repentance; and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the truth may see how that we abhor not this word penance, (as they untruly report of us,) any more than the interpreters of Latin abhor pœnitere when they read resipiscere. Only our hearts' desire unto God is, that his people be not blinded in their understanding, lest they believe penance

to be aught save a very repentance, amendment, or conversion unto God, and to be an unfeigned new creature in Christ; and to live according to his law. For else shall they fall into the old blaspheming of Christ's blood, and believe that they themselves are able to make satisfaction unto God for their own sins. From the which error, God of his mercy and plenteous goodness preserve all his.

Now to conclude: forsomuch as all the scripture is written for thy doctrine and ensample, it shall be necessary for thee to take hold upon it while it is offered thee, yea, and with ten hands thankfully to receive it. And though it be not worthily ministered unto thee in this translation, by reason of my rudeness, yet if thou be fervent in thy prayer, God shall not only send it thee in a better shape, by the ministration of others that began it afore, but shall also move the hearts of them which as yet meddled not withal, to take it in hand and to bestow the gift of their understanding thereon, as well in our language, as other famous interpreters do in other tongues. And I pray God, that through my poor ministration herein, I may give them that can do better, some occasion so to do; exhorting thee, most dear reader, in the mean while, on God's behalf, if thou art a head, a judge, a ruler of the people, that thou let not the book of this law depart out of thy mouth, but exercise thyself therein both day and night, and be ever reading in it as long as thou livest; that thou mayest learn to fear the Lord thy God, and not to turn aside from the commandment, either to the right hand or to the left; lest thou be a knower of persons in judgment, and wrest the right of the stranger, of the fatherless, or of the widow, and so the curse come upon thee. But what office soever thou hast, wait upon it and execute it, to the maintenance of peace, to the wealth of thy people, defending the laws of God, and the lovers thereof, and to the destruction of the wicked, Josh. i. Deut. xvii. xxiv. Rom. xii.

If thou art a preacher and hast the oversight of the flock of Christ, awake and feed Christ's sheep with a good heart, and spare no labour to do them good, seek not thyself, and beware of filthy lucre; but be unto the flock an ensample, in the word, in conversation, in love, in ferventness of the spirit; and be ever reading, exhorting, and teaching in God's word, that the people of God run not unto other doctrines, and lest thou thyself, when thou shouldest teach others, be found ignorant therein. And rather than thou

wouldest teach the people any other thing than God's word, take the book in thine hand and read the words even as they stand therein, for it is no shame so to do, it is more shame to make a lie. This I say for such as are not yet expert in the scripture; for I reprove no preaching without the book as long as they say the truth, Acts xx. 1 Pet. v. 1 Tim. iv. Tit. ii.

If thou art a man that hast wife and children, first love thy wife, according to the ensample of the love wherewith Christ loved the congregation, and remember that so doing thou lovest even thyself. If thou hate her, thou hatest thine own flesh; if thou cherish her, and make much of her, thou cherishest and makest much of thyself; for she is bone of thy bones and flesh of thy flesh. And whosoever thou art that hast children, bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord. And if thou art ignorant, or otherwise occupied lawfully, that thou canst not teach them thyself, then be even as diligent to seek a good master for thy children, as thou wast to seek a mother to bear them; for there lieth as great a weight in the one as in the other. Yea, better it were for them to be unborn than not to fear God, or to be evil brought up. Which thing, I mean the well bringing up of children, if it be diligently looked to, is the upholding of all commonwealths; and the negligence of the same is the very decay of all realms.

Finally, whosoever thou art, take these words of scripture into thy heart, and be not only an outward hearer, but a doer thereafter, and practise thyself therein; that thou mayest feel in thine heart the sweet promises thereof for thy consolation in all trouble, and for the sure stablishing of thy hope in Christ; and have ever an eye to the words of scripture, that if thou art a teacher of others, thou mayest be within the bounds of the truth; or at the least, though thou art but a hearer or reader of another man's doings, thou mayest yet have knowledge to judge all spirits, and be free from every error, to the utter destruction of all seditious sects and strange doctrines; that the holy scripture may have free passage, and be had in reputation, to the worship of the author thereof, who is even God himself; to whom, for his most blessed word, be glory and dominion now and ever. Amen.

EXTRACTS

FROM

A CONFUTATION OF THAT TREATISE WHICH ONE JOHN STANDISH MADE AGAINST THE PROTESTATION OF DR. BARNES, IN THE YEAR 1540.

JUSTIFICATION.

As pertaining to your blasphemy which say, that it is a damnable justification where faith is preached only to justify, that is condemnably spoken by you. Yea, though an angel of heaven should speak it, if holy St. Paul be true, who saith, Gal. i. He ought to be holden accursed, that preacheth any other gospel, than that he himself and the other apostles had preached. If ye, of a cankered hatred to the truth, have not wilfully and maliciously taken part against the Holy Ghost, so that ye are but led ignorantly by a blind multitude, to affirm the said inconvenience, I pray God send you a clearer sight in the kingdom of Christ. But if ye are minded, as were the pharisees, and maliciously ascribe damnation to that whereby only we receive salvation, as they ascribed unto the devil that which was alone the working of the Holy Ghost, then am I sorely afraid for you, and for as many as are of that mind. For if it be damnable to teach or preach wittingly against the express word of God, then verily is this a damnable heresy to affirm that faith only doth not justify, seeing that holy scripture so teacheth. As Gen. xv. Isa. liii. Hab. ii. Mark xvi. Luke i. viii. xxiv. John iii. xvii. Acts xiii. xvi. Rom. iii.—v. x. Gal. ii.—v. Phil. iii. 1 Pet. i. ii. Heb. iv. xi. Of this faith that scripture speaketh so plentifully, have I made sufficient mention in the prologue of that little book which I lately put forth in English, concerning the true old faith of Christ. Now like as the scriptures before alleged do testify for us, that we mean no false nor vain faith, even so is the same article of justification defended and maintained by the doctors, in many and sundry places, specially by St. Augustine.* I might allege

* In the book of the Fifty Sermons, the 17th sermon. In the first book of the Retractes, the 23d chap. In the 105th epistle unto Sixtus the bishop. In the 25th treatise upon John, the 6th chap. In his Manual, the 22d and 23d chap. In the exposition of the 67th and of the 70th Psalms. In the 53d Sermon, De Tempore. In the 5th book of his Homilies, the 17th homily. In the book of the Eighty-three Questions, the 66th chap. And in the Prologue of the 31st Psalm. In the 352d chap. De vera Innocentia. De verbis Domini, Sermone 40. De verbis Apostoli, ser. 27.

Cyril, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, Bernard, Athanasius, with others more, but what helpeth it? Yet shall all the world know that your heresy is not only condemned by the open and manifest scripture, but also by many of the doctors. As for natural reason, it fighteth clearly against you also, if ye ponder well the parable of the marriage in Matt. xxii. and in Luke xiv. the parable of the unthrifty son in Luke xv. the parable also of the debtor in Matt. xviii. and Luke vii.

WORKS.

Ye say, also, Dr. Barnes did preach that works do not profit. If ye mean works invented by men's own brains, not grounded on God's word, then verily might he well say, that such works do not profit to salvation. For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, Rom. xiv. But if ye mean such good works as are comprehended in the commandments of God, and within the precinct of his word, then truly ye fail so to report of him; for though salvation be God's work only, yet Dr. Barnes in his book, doth not only condemn the fleshly and damnable reason of them which say, If faith only justify, what need we to do any good works? &c. but also he affirmeth plainly that we must needs do them, and that they which will not do them, because they are justified alone by faith, are not the children of God, nor children of justification, &c. For if they were the very true children of God they would be the more glad to do good works, &c. Therefore, saith he, should they also be moved freely to work, if it were for none other purpose or profit, but only to do the will of their merciful God, who hath so freely justified them; and also to profit their neighbour, whom they are bound to serve of very true charity. Are these words as much as to say, that works do not profit? What mean ye thus untruly to report of the dead?*

Whereas ye make this blind objection, and say, If works profit not, so that faith only justifieth, and Christ's death is sufficient, then penance is void and superfluous, I answer, A goodly consequent, gathered neither of skilful sophistry, wise logic, nor of good philosophy, except it be of philosophy unnatural, nor of right divinity: works profit not to salvation, therefore they profit not at all! Is this a pretty consequent? Your consequent is naught, saith St. Peter, for by good works must ye make your vocation certain and sure, 2 Pet. i. A like argument might ye make after this

* Barnes.

manner, and say, Iron is not profitable to chew nor to eat, therefore it is nothing worth! Were not this a wise consequent? The smith will tell you a better tale.—

Now to put you to your probation. How are ye able justly to prove that penance is void and superfluous, where faith is preached only to justify, Gal. v.? The true faith of Christ is it that we speak of? Is it not occupied then, and worketh through godly love and charity? They then that duly receive this faith, do not receive it to live worse, or as evil afterwards, as they did before God gave it them. For though we are saved by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves; though it be the gift of God, I say, not of works; yet are we his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, to the which God ordained us before, that we should walk in them, Eph. ii. Neither hath our Saviour given us any liberty to receive it in vain, but teacheth us to forsake all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live discreetly, justly, and godly in this world, 2 Cor. vi. Tit. ii. Therefore, whoso despiseth to live virtuously, and to do good works, despiseth not man but God, 1 Thess. iv. The same faith that only justifieth, setteth forth this doctrine, therefore doth it not destroy good works and penance. Take ye heed then, and beware what ye say another time. I might point you also to St. Ambrose, who, treating of the calling of the heathen, and declaring the true original of our salvation, alleges the place afore rehearsed of Ephesians ii. and showeth that faith, being replenished with all good thoughts and deeds, in due season bringeth them forth. And St. Augustine saith these words: If faith be the foundation of penance,* without which there is nothing that can be good, then is penance earnestly to be required, which, as it is evident, is grounded in faith. For a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits, Matt. vii. Penance, therefore, which proceedeth not of faith, is not profitable, &c. These are St. Augustine's words. Faith, then, destroyeth neither penance nor good works, but beareth them both, and from whom (faith) they both proceed.

OF THE SATISFACTION OF CHRIST.

Ye judge it an error to affirm, that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father but the death and passion of Christ only; and yet confess plainly that no man can satisfy for the offence. If it be erroneous to say that Christ is

* The word penance is often used to express repentance. See p. 14.

the satisfaction to the Father, and ye yourselves confess that no man else doth satisfy for the offence; to whom then shall we ascribe this honour of satisfying for our sins? Alas, what a gross error are you in! O blind guides, what way will ye lead the people of God? Unhappy is the flock that is under your keeping! And happy is the man whom thou, Lord God, instructest, and teachest him out of thy law, Psa. xciv. It is time, Lord, to lay to thine hand, for they have wasted away thy law, Psa. cxix.

This article, that Christ's death only is the satisfaction to the Father, for all the sins of the world, is plain, manifest, and approved throughout all the holy scripture, the whole sentences whereof are here too long to rehearse; but the text is open and evident, though sometimes it use one vocable and sometimes another. For to this article pertain all those scriptures that report Him to be the pacifier and reconciler of the Father's wrath; the Cleanser, the Purifier, the Maker of atonement or agreement; the Obtainer of grace, the Sacrifice and Oblation for our sins, &c. The Father of heaven himself doth testify that it is his Son Jesus Christ, in whom or by whom he is pleased and content, Matt. iii. xvii. Who taketh away the sin of the world, but He? John i. In whom are we complete, and have all heavenly and necessary things pertaining to salvation, but in Him? Col. ii. I pass over the scriptures, Isa. liii. Hos. xiii. 1 Pet. i. ii. 1 John i.—iii. Rev. i. Heb. i. v. vii. ix. x. Tit. ii. Col. i. ii. 1 Tim. i. ii. 1 Cor. i. 2 Cor. v. Rom. iii. v.

Conclusion, addressed, To all true Christian readers.

Faint not thou in faith, dear reader, neither wax cold in love and charity, though the enemies of God's word be gathered together, and grown into such swarms. Be thou strong in the Lord and the power of his might. And let it not discourage thee that the said word is so little in the estimation of the world; so greatly despised, so sorely persecuted, so wickedly perverted, wrested, and belied, so unthankfully received, so shamefully denied, and so slothfully followed.

Arm thyself, therefore, with the comfortable ensamples of the scripture. And, as touching those Nimrods that persecute God's word, hunting it out of every corner, whetting their swords and bending their bows against it; be

thou sure that the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, shall do with them as he ever was wont to do with tyrants in times past. Thou seest throughout the histories of the holy bible, that like as he turneth some of their hearts from cruelty to meekness, even so, with death, with fire, with water, and with such other his plagues, destroyeth he them that will needs despise his warnings; yea, breaketh their bows in pieces and killeth them with their own swords. As for Jannes and Jambres, those wicked sorcerers and covetous chaplains, that teach contrary to God's word, and dissuade the great men of the world from it, their own wresting and belieing of it must needs confound them. For though there are many that resist the truth, yet when it is uttered and cometh to light, their madness, as St. Paul saith, shall be manifest unto all men. And as Moses's rod devoured their rods in the king's presence, so likewise the same places of scripture that they allege for their wicked purpose, shall destroy their false doctrine in the face of the world. Yea, even as little honesty as the papistry hath gotten by wresting of Thou art Peter, &c. so small profit are they like to have for belieing of other texts. Neither is it to be feared, but God will do for one part of his word as much as for another, when he seeth his time.

Concerning those that for no commandment nor promise of God, for no ensample, warning, or exhortation will be counselled, but still blaspheme his holy word through their ungodly conversation, let not that withdraw thee from the way of righteousness. Love not thou Christ the worse, though Judas be a traitor. Set not thou the less by his wholesome doctrine, though dogs turn to their vomit, and though swine wallow in their mire again.

I know, gentle reader, that to all true christian hearts it is a great temptation to see God's holy word either persecuted, belied, or unthankfully received. But first remember thyself well by the practice of all histories, when was it without persecution? When was there not one tyrant or other that exercised all his power, strength, understanding, and counsel against it? When were the children of Israel without some bloody Edomites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Philistines, or other?

Secondly, When was not God's word belied, perverted, or evil spoken of by one false prophet or other? Were there not heretics and flattering chaplains in all ages, that withdrew men from the truth, and misreported the straight

ways of the Lord? Thirdly, When were there not some multitudes that, pretending a love toward Christ's word, did but follow him for their own bellies' sake? When was the seed of Christ's word sown, but some part of it fell upon the stony ground, where it withered, and among the thorns that choked it up?

Wherefore seeing thou art compassed about with so great a number of witnesses, that is to say, with the ensamples of so many godly and holy men; which not only did choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; but also eschewed false doctrine, and brought forth always good works in their living; follow thou the same trade; follow thou them, I say, as thou seest they followed Christ, and no farther. And as touching any manner of doctrine, believe no man without God's word, according as Jerome counselleth thee. For certain it is, that like as many times thou shalt espy even great faults in the conversation of God's elect, so readest thou of very few teachers, since the apostles' time, which have not erred, and that grossly, in sundry things.

Wherefore, whomsoever thou hearest teach, preach, or write, or whose books soever thou readest, try them by God's word, whether they are agreeable thereto or no. When thou knowest them, I say, and art certain and sure, by Christ's doctrine, that they are false, seditious, or abominable, then hold them accursed, avoid them utterly, eschew them in any wise, and give over thyself to the wholesome hearing and reading of the scripture, but so that thou art sober and discreet in the knowledge and use thereof. And that, in confessing the true faith and belief of Christ, thy heart, mouth, and deeds go together, and that thou consent to none opinion contrary to the same; that God may have the praise, and thy neighbour be edified in all thy conversation. So doing, thou shalt not only stop the mouth of evil speakers, but also allure and provoke other men to be fruitfully given to faith and good works, and to help, with such their unfeigned faith and godly living, that the tabernacle of God may be set up again. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen.

James iii.—If ye have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts, make no boast, neither be liars against the truth.

Preface to certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable Letters of such true Saints and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloody persecution here within this realm, gave their lives for the defence of Christ's holy gospel. Written in the time of the affliction and cruel imprisonment.

Miles Coverdale unto the Christian Reader, most heartily wisheth the continual increase of heavenly taste and spiritual sweetness, in the same assured salvation which cometh only through Jesus Christ.

THE more nigh that men's words and works approach unto the most wholesome sayings and fruitful doings of the old ancient saints and chosen children of God, who loved not only to hear his word, but also to live thereafter, the more worthy are they to be esteemed, embraced, and followed. And therefore, as we hear and read of many godly, both men and women, whose conversation in old time was beautified with singular gifts of the Holy Ghost, according as the apostle describeth them in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, so have we just cause to rejoice, that we have been familiar and acquainted with some of those, who walked in the trade of their footsteps. For the which cause it doth us good to read and hear, not the lying legends of feigned, false, counterfeited, and popish canonized saints, neither the trifling toys and forged fables of corrupted writers: but such true, holy, and approved histories, monuments, orations, epistles, and letters, as do set forth unto us the blessed behaviour of God's dear servants. It doth us good, I say, by such comfortable remembrance, conceived by their notable writings, to be conversant with them, at the least in spirit.

St. Jerome, writing to one Nitia, and having occasion to speak of letters or epistles, makes mention of a certain author named Terpilius, whose words, saith he, are these; "A letter or epistle is the thing alone that maketh men present which are absent." For among those that are absent, what is so present, as to hear and talk with those whom thou lovest? Also that noble clerk Erasmus Roterodame, commending the book of the epistles or letters which St. Augustine did write, saith thus; "By some of Augustine's books, we may perceive what manner of man he was, being an infant in Christ. By other some, we may

know what manner of man he was, being a young man, and what he was being an old man. But by this only book, meaning the book of the epistles or letters, thou shalt know whole Augustine altogether." And why doth St. Jerome or Erasmus say thus? No doubt, even because that in such writings, as in a clear glass, we may see and behold, not only what plentiful furniture and store of heavenly grace, wisdom, knowledge, understanding, faith, love, hope, zeal, patience, meekness, obedience, with the worthy fruits thereof, almighty God had bestowed upon the same his most dear children; but also what a fatherly care he ever had unto them, how his mighty hand defended them; how his providence kept watch and ward over them; how his loving eye looked unto them; how his gracious ear heard their prayers; how he was always mindful of them, never forgat them, neither failed them, nor forsook them; how the arms of his mercy were stretched out to embrace them, whensoever they faithfully turned unto him; how valiant also and strong in spirit, how joyful under the cross, how quiet and cheerful in trouble he made them. What victory of their enemies, what deliverance out of bonds and captivity, what health from sickness, what recovery from plagues, what plenty from scarceness; what help at all need and necessity he bestowed on them.

By such like monuments also and writings, it is manifest and plain, how the same dear children of God, in their time behaved themselves, as well towards him as also towards their friends and foes; yea, what the very thoughts of their hearts were, when they prayed, as their manner was incessantly to do, when they confessed their sins, and complained unto God; when they gave thanks; when they were persecuted and troubled; when they were by the hand of God visited; when they felt, not only the horror of death, the grief of sin, and the burden of God's displeasure by reason of the same, but also the sweet taste of his great mercy and eternal comfort through Jesus Christ, in their conscience. Of the which things, like as we may evidently perceive rich and plentiful experience in the heavenly treasury of that most excellent book, which we commonly call David's Psalter; so hath not God, now in our days, left himself without witnesses. Yea, no more than he did in other ages before us; but of his abundant goodness, even when the late persecution was most cruel, and enemies' rage most extreme, he hath raised up such

zealous men and women, as, by the wonderful operation of his Holy Spirit, of weak, were made so valiant and strong in him, as well against all idolatry, superstition, false doctrine and corrupted religion, as against their own old blemishes and sins, that they have turned to flight, and confounded the whole rabble of such mischievous papists, as were the persecutors and murderers of them.

Whereby they that list not still to be blind, may plainly behold and see, not only the terrible judgments of God over, and against the wicked, but also his wonderful doings, mixed with mercy in and towards his chosen. Unto whom, as unto them that love Him, he causeth all things to work for the best. So that with Him, by the heavenly light of stedfast faith, they see life, even in death. With Him, even in heaviness and sorrow, they fail not of joy and comfort; with Him, even in poverty, affliction, and trouble, they neither perish nor are forsaken. How else could they be so patient, so quiet of mind, so cheerful and joyful in adversity, and strait captivity; some being thrown into dungeons, ugsome holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir; some tied in the stocks with their heels upward; some having their legs in the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron; some both hands and legs in the stocks at once; sometimes both hands in and both legs out, sometimes the right hand with the left leg, or the left hand with the right leg, fastened in the stocks with manacles and fetters, having neither stool nor stone to sit on, to ease their woful bodies withal. Some standing in most painful engines of iron with their bodies doubled. Some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists. Some having their hands burned with a candle, to try their patience, or force them to relent; some hunger pined and most miserable famished. All these torments and many more, even such as cruel Phalaris could not desire worse, were practised by the papists, the stout sturdy soldiers of Satan, thus delighting in variety of tyranny and torments, upon the saints of God, as it is full well and too well known, and as many can testify which are yet alive, and have felt some smart thereof. Yea, and furthermore, so extremely were these dear servants of God dealt withal, that although they were most desirous by their pen and writing, to edify their brethren, other poor lambs of Christ,

and one to comfort another in him, yet were they so narrowly watched and straitly kept from all necessary helps, as paper, ink, books, and such like, that great marvel it is how they could be able to write any one of these or other so excellent and worthy letters. For so hardly were they used, as I said before, for the most part, that they could not end their letters begun. Sometimes for lack of ease, being so fettered with chains, and otherwise handled as you have heard; sometimes for lack of light, when they could neither see to write well, nor to read their letters again. Sometimes through the hasty coming in of the keepers or officers, who left no corner or bedstraw unsearched; yea, sometimes they were put to so hard shifts, that like as for lack of pens they were fain to write with the lead of their windows, so for want of ink they took their own blood, as yet it remaineth to be seen, and yet sometimes they were fain to tear and rend what they had written at the hasty coming in of the officers.

Thus, thus unkindly, thus churlishly, thus cruelly and unnaturally were even they entreated and handled, whose most notable and godly writings are here set forth in this book. For the which, and such other monuments, great cause have we to praise God; which he himself hath preserved and brought to light, no doubt by his singular great providence, that hereby, we being taught to have his mighty mercy and merciful working, yet more in reverent and thankful regard, might not only consider what heavenly strength and rich possession of constant faith, of ardent zeal, of quiet patience, of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, he useth to arm them, that can find in their hearts to abhor all ungodliness, both of doctrine and life; but also to join with them ourselves in such sort, that looking to Jesus our Captain, abiding the cross and despising the shame, as they did for the joy that was set before them, may with much quietness of a good conscience, end this our short course, to his glory, to the edifying of his church, to the confusion of Satan, to the hinderance of all false doctrine, and to our own eternal comfort, in the same our Lord and alone Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, all glory, all thanks, and all praise, world without end. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Volumes included under the title of The British Reformers may be arranged in the following order:

Volume 1. Wickliff to Bilney.
2. Tindal, Frith, and Barnes.
3. Edward VI., Parr, Balnaves, &c.
4. Latimer.
5. Hooper.
6. Bradford.
7. Ridley and Philpot.
8. Cranmer, Rogers, Careless, &c.
9. Knox.
10. Becon.
11. Jewell.
12. Fox, Bale, and Coverdale.

Each volume forms a distinct publication, and may be purchased separately.

The following particulars will explain the manner in which this work has been carried through the press. The pieces contained therein are without abridgement, unless where expressly mentioned. There are a few omissions which are necessary in a publication intended to be generally circulated, and to be useful at the present day. In other editions, the obsolete spelling has been laid aside, the same plan is pursued in the present publication; the involved construction of sentences, common in writers of that period, has also been removed. Those words which have become unintelligible or offensive, are exchanged for others, or are explained by notes when it is desirable that they should be retained. These variations, if they may be so called, were as necessary to render this work generally useful, as the adoption of modern orthography. The utmost care has been taken that the meaning of the author should be strictly preserved, and the various pieces have been collated with the best and earliest editions, or with manuscript copies. This has been done, that the meaning of the author might be given as nearly as possible, not from the first editions being the most correct, as they often abound with errors, for which the hurried or careless manner in which they were for the most part passed through the press, will readily account. The present reprints, it is believed, will be found to present the most correct text of these writers that has hitherto appeared. More than half of the pieces included in this collection, have not been reprinted since the sixteenth century, and a considerable portion is now printed for the first time.

Upon the value of the Writings of the British Reformers, it is unnecessary to enlarge. The late Rev. L. Richmond remarked, "They are eminently calculated to cherish those principles and views of sacred truth, which, being drawn from the pure fountain of Revelation, have ever proved the surest bulwark against the attacks of infidelity, and the encroachments of error." Another writer, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, observes, "The Reformers are more scriptural in their sentiments and statements than most succeeding authors. They are less systematic, and more experimental; less theoretic, and more practical, on

Christian principles; they are more consistent in doctrine, and more useful in application. Their standard of divinity is of a high, and sound, and generally uniform character."

Perhaps a summary view of the writings of the Reformers cannot be better given, than in the words of a contemporary respecting the sermons of one of their number, "Sharply they reprove sin, sweetly they preach Christ crucified, pithily they impugn error, and earnestly they persuade to godly life."

The present reprint of the writings of the British Reformers renders them accessible to readers in general, so that the great mass of the population of England may now become acquainted with works, which, under the divine blessing, produced inestimable benefits to our forefathers. These witnesses to the truth now address the descendants of those to whom they spake while yet living, they again testify of Him, in whom alone is light, and life, and joy, and salvation. This republication has been accomplished by the liberality of a highly esteemed individual, who devoted the sum of twelve hundred pounds to defray the cost of stereotyping a collection, "to which the weary soul may resort for refreshment, and the wounded heart for consolation; to which the believer may have recourse to dissolve his doubts, to dissipate his fears, to assuage his sorrows, to excite his graces, to confirm his faith, and to elevate his hope."

The collection might easily have been extended, but not without enlarging the work so as to impede its circulation, and, consequently, its usefulness. Two important classes of writings connected with the British Reformation, however, are not included. First, Translations from the German Reformers, many of which were widely circulated in England, and contributed much to the progress of the truth. Second, Writings of the immediate successors of the Reformers, those who were associated in their early sufferings, and in their subsequent labours. The most valuable writings of each of these classes might be printed in six volumes, and would be a valuable present to the Church of Christ. Whether they shall appear, must remain with Him who is able to raise up instruments for his work, and to cause the requisite means to be provided.

The editor, who has, under the divine blessing, been enabled to devote a considerable portion of time to carrying this collection through the press, feels that he ought not to allow the concluding page to pass from under his pen without acknowledging the valuable and constant assistance he has received, whereby the uninterrupted regular appearance of a large portion every month, during the space of four successive years, has been accomplished, and the work has gone forth in a more correct form than would have been attainable, had it rested wholly upon any one person. But he feels himself still more strongly called upon to acknowledge, however feebly, those manifestations of divine Providence which peculiarly marked the commencement of the present work, which have, in various ways, accompanied its progress, and now have brought it to a close, attended by encouragement and evidences of usefulness, far beyond those which the most sanguine friend of the object had ventured to anticipate. If it be in any measure useful to man, to God alone be all the glory ascribed.

November 5th, 1831.

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THE

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6. Writings of BRADFORD. They have always been highly prized for the spiritual nature of their contents.

7. Writings of RIDLEY and PHILPOT. These exhibit the doctrines of the Reformers on the principal points wherein they differed from the church of Rome.

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